3 0516 [illegible] 7573

MUST WE HAVE WAR?

FRED B. SMITH

WITHDRAWN
UST
Libraries

MUST WE HAVE WAR?

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/mustwehavewar0000fred

MUST WE HAVE WAR?

FRED B. SMITH

CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP
THROUGH THE CHURCHES

With a Foreword by
OWEN D. YOUNG

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK AND LONDON

1929

First Edition

MUST WE HAVE WAR?

COPYRIGHT, 1929, BY HARPER & BROTHERS

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

K-D

JX
1953
Sm56

Publisher's Note

This Book has been edited by Charles Stelzle under whose direction a group of books dealing with religion and modern problems is planned.

14892

CONTENTS

	FOREWORD	xi
	INTRODUCTION	xvii
I.	THE GREAT REVOLUTION	1
II.	THE GROWTH OF A NEW IDEA	22
III.	THE MAJESTY OF PUBLIC OPINION	58
IV.	JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES	73
V.	WHAT AMERICA CAN DO	104
VI.	DANGER ZONES—PART ONE	137
VII.	DANGER ZONES—PART TWO	177
VIII.	ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS	204
IX.	THE COMPELLING APOLOGETIC	257
X.	WHAT RELIGION CAN DO	281
XI.	WHAT INDIVIDUALS CAN DO	304

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS	*Facing p.*	1
WORLD PROBLEMS ARE MY PROBLEMS	"	22
THEY MAY BE SEEN BUT NOT HEARD	"	58
THE LISTENER-IN	"	73
AND THAT MEANS YOU, TOO, SAM	"	104
BEYOND THE ALPS LIES ITALY	"	137
THE PEACE PARADE	"	177
WILL THEY EVER MEET?	"	204
TRANSLATE THIS INTO RUSSIAN AND CHINESE AND RUSH IT	"	257
PEACE HATH HER VICTORIES	"	281
A LITTLE MORE WEIGHT IN THE FRONT OF THE BOAT, PLEASE	"	304

FOREWORD

IT REQUIRES an effort to make a friend. How simple that statement is and yet how important it would be to the world if it were applied in certain great places. It requires initiative to make a friend. It requires a friendly spirit.

If one never says good morning to his neighbour, if he never crosses his boundary lines and at most only talks to him over the garden fence, his neighbour may not be his enemy, but he will never be his friend.

If in the talks over the garden fence one brags about the fertility of his own garden, its vast size and superior sunshine, and then proceeds to give advice to his neighbour, not so much for the purpose of helping him, but indirectly bragging further about himself, his neighbour may not be his enemy, but he will not be his friend. If, in making the advance to his neighbour, it be only one of cold formality and of little interest, if it be without the compelling warmth of sympathy and understanding, if it be without the desire to share his joys and sorrows, his neighbour may not be his enemy, but he will never be his friend.

And, if one, being the richest in the community,

shrinks from participation in community affairs, on the theory that his grounds are large and his fences high, his neighbours may not be his enemies, but they will never be his friends.

If, on the other hand, one calls on his neighbour for a favour, which is a very good way of making a friend, or grants one; if one becomes interested in his neighbour's business as well as in his own; if one demonstrates his intense conviction that the community through co-operation can be made the finest community which has ever yet existed; if he is willing to co-operate with his neighbours in keeping order, in promoting the general welfare, in establishing and maintaining churches and schools, and raising both the economic and moral standards of living, if his spirit be friendly; if he has demonstrated his good will and unselfishness; in a word, if he has the confidence and affection of his neighbour, then no disagreement can make his neighbours enemies. They must always be his friends.

I mention such simple and well-known things only because we seem to forget these simple rules when nations meet each other. In so far as the mass spirit modifies them at all, it only accentuates them. No one can be more generous than the mass. No one can be more selfish than the mass. No one can be more arrogant than the mass. It is wholly a

question of the right spirit of approach, plus leadership.

I have an old friend up-country in the little village where I was born and still live, who has a pair of horses, and he loves them very much. They are very sleek and fat and he has come into the habit of talking with them, and so every morning he bets them five dollars that they will get a licking before the day is over. He will never be taken in hand by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and it is because of his spirit of approach.

We have several avenues of approach to our neighbours, all of which are open and in use. One is political, and its agents are our vast diplomatic service. One is commercial, and its agents are our Department of Commerce and our business organization. One is financial, and its agents are our Federal Reserve Banks and our banking institutions both public and private which do an international business. One is intellectual, and its agents are the students and professors who, fortunately, are moving in increasing numbers between many of the different countries of the globe. One is social, and its agents are our travellers who, even when they do not always create favourable opinion, are nevertheless gaining impressions which destroy the insulation of their own ignorance.

Finally, we have this great movement of promoting international friendship through the churches. Wisely guided, it may well be the most effective of them all. It may spread its mantle over all our other activities and refine and strengthen them, especially it may make their spirit right. Certainly faith and unselfishness would be a welcome addition to the old traditions of diplomacy. Certainly openness and fair dealing and mutuality will be an aid to business. Certainly co-operation will further the effectiveness of the vast machinery of finance. Certainly hospitality and good fellowship will improve our exchange of students and professors. Certainly participation in church service is the finest way of seeing cathedrals.

In a word, the promotion of international friendship through the churches is not only another avenue of approach to our friends and neighbours throughout the world, but it can aid materially the effectiveness of all our normal agencies. Its spirit of unselfishness and high-mindedness should be the collateral which insures our undertakings everywhere and should be the strongest support to the great treaty which former Secretary of State Kellogg, with the aid of ex-President Coolidge, has made. Now, if ever, we need the combined aid of the churches to insure us against any possible default on the part of America in this great undertaking.

I heartily commend this movement of the churches in the international field for the promotion of the welfare of the world.

Owen D. Young.

INTRODUCTION

A BRIEF statement regarding the purpose and limitations of this book seems indispensable. It is first of all an attempt to furnish busy men and women a readable presentation of the problems, progress and recent developments in the world crusade for the elimination of military force as a solution for international and interracial misunderstandings. No attempt is made to deal exhaustively with any of the varied plans, programs, compacts, treaties, leagues and commissions which are being brought forward. The author is not a technical internationalist. If he were and felt it necessary to follow through all of the implications in each of the legislative measures which are being considered in different parts of the world, it would call for volumes, not one single book. The desire is to bring, so far as possible, all of the problems and their proposed remedies into review and to suggest authorities for more thorough study where it may be desired. Details are avoided.

It is likewise an attempt to present information regarding the constructive implements which are being developed by conciliatory methods which information may be of value for the speakers and teach-

ers who are dealing with international problems. This purpose should be kept in mind because it is believed that the chapter which deals with the "Cultivation of Public Opinion" is by far the most important in the book. The theme of universal good will must be carried into every realm of life. It calls for thousands of advocates upon public platforms and in small groups and classes.

The desire of the author also is to add something to the plans by which America may more fully enter into her enlarging opportunity for world co-operation for enduring peace. It will be observed that most of the discussions and illustrations have an American significance. But it is hoped the underlying facts and principles will be profitable to the cause universally. In this connection the chapter upon America particularly should be noted.

Running all through the book there is a résumé of the principles and methods of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches and other religious bodies. To avoid frequent repetitions, grateful recognition is now given to the many organizations which are working so sincerely and effectively in this field. The writer cherishes only good wishes for all of them. But the unique plan of the World Alliance with its organization extending over thirty nations, forms the prin-

cipal basis for the peculiar program here recommended.

The author wishes to record his personal convictions, as strongly as one may, about the supreme importance of the War *vs.* Peace struggle in its effect upon the great religious movements of the twentieth century and in fact for all of the years which are yet to be. It has been his privilege to have had some part in most of the special campaigns which have been conducted for various Christian causes during the last three decades. He has believed in all of them; no apologies are offered for any of them. But the peace movement he believes to be the supreme one. With what present knowledge he has, it is the final one in which he may participate.

One general comment is so vital that those who read the book are urged to keep it in constant remembrance. Without it a great injustice might be done to many of the most influential men throughout the world, who are giving their best service to establish permanent peace. Sufficient emphasis can hardly be given to the fact that no word, line or paragraph in this book is to be interpreted as a general criticism of men who are engaged in military service. One of the greatest addresses upon world peace ever given was delivered by the famous Rear-Admiral John W. Phillips, the hero of Santiago in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Those

familiar with the incident of the battle will recall that after Admiral Phillips had successfully defeated the Spanish fleet and the ships were sinking and the men perishing, his own men set up a cheer in recognition of the glorious achievement. Whereupon the Admiral stopped the cheering and said, "Boys, don't cheer. Don't you realize that those poor chaps over there are dying?" He was a faithful servant of his country but he had a horror of war.

In recent years in the relationships of the World Alliance, many of the most ardent friends of this cause have been those engaged in military life. Major-General Henry T. Allen, Major-General Charles G. Treat, Major-General John F. O'Ryan, General Tasker H. Bliss, and Admiral Thomas P. Magruder are well known for their advocacy of arbitral, judicial and conciliatory methods for adjusting international disputes, as against the old order of resort to war. Furthermore, no intimation of criticism of the American Legion must be read between the lines of these discussions. When the term "Militarism" is used it has reference to men who way down in their hearts believe in the philosophy of war as a great patriotic exercise and agency for ennobling humanity.

It should be remembered that Chapter IV, "Judicial Settlement of Disputes" is written by a layman

to the laity. It could doubtless have been much improved if it had seemed wise to confer with men of the trained legal fraternity as to its composition. But it is a plain statement with no attempt to make it technically acceptable to the jurists.

Furthermore, the reader must bear in mind that where certain facts are stated in reference to pending bills, enactments or proposals, and also where statistics are given, they are based upon the status as known at the time of publication. One of the gratifying elements in the present situation is that progress is rapid and that under the inspiring impulse to advance the cause of peace, societies, states and parliaments are moving forward with ever-increasing momentum. The incidents of certain measures or proposals and of statistical facts may change, but the principles involved, it is believed, are abiding ones for which the advocates of world peace must contend.

Recognition is gladly given to the helpful co-operation of the Executive Staff of the World Alliance for International Friendship in valuable suggestions and in editing the manuscript.

May 23, 1929 FRED B. SMITH.

MUST WE HAVE WAR?

—By McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune

I. THE GREAT REVOLUTION

THE world is in the midst of the culminating years of the greatest revolution in all history: the attempt to overthrow the age-long war system and to substitute peaceful methods of adjusting differences in politics, economics, and social life, when they arise among states, nations or races.

In accordance with the superficial interpretations of "Revolutions" this quiet process may scarcely seem to be one of the great revolutions. Its methods are not like those employed in 1642 when Charles I was dethroned; or in 1775 when the American Colonies revolted; or in the French Revolution of 1789; or the Russian Revolution of 1916. Those were bloody affairs. They were accompanied by great loss of life and vast destruction of property.

This modern revolution contemplates no bloodshed, no violence to life or property. It is to be accomplished by the quiet, orderly method of the pressure of education and religion which will influence parliaments, courts and governments. But when the full program is understood it will take the supreme place among all the revolutions of history.

Webster defines a revolution as a "change or alteration of a system." The method has nothing to do with the incident being defined as a revolution. He also says an "insurrection is not called a revolution unless it is successful." Under these two requirements the modern crusade to change the war system can be justly termed the greatest revolution in history. The change is taking place and is going to be successful. It is greatest because it involves all the races and nations of the entire world; because it is to change a system which is as old as recorded history; because it involves the greatest humanitarian and religious welfare of all the people of the world; and because it will accept no compromise, sign no armistice, declare no holiday until it has won a decisive permanent victory. There must be an affirmative decision.

Two philosophies of life are met in this titanic contest. They are diametrically opposed to each other. They are so wide apart that there can be no compromise. The older of the two, the doctrine of economic determinism with force as its authority, is as old as history and has never met a defeat. It is entrenched in the polity of every government on earth. Its proponents laugh in the cold bitterness of the villain in the play at the "silly efforts" to dethrone it. The second of these participants, the

theory of the substitution of pacific implements for the adjustment of all discords among races and states is borne upon the crest of a mighty wave of moral indignation. Its proponents have something of the abandon of the Crusaders. They have nailed to their masthead the slogan "*A warless world.*"

In the new world of tomorrow both of these ideas cannot exist. One is to win a glorious permanent victory, the other is to perish.

The forces upon each side of this struggle are being brought nearer and nearer together; the issues are being clarified; the triumph of one or the other philosophy is approaching.

It is not an altogether new problem. It is very old. Back in the times of the prophets of the earliest parts of the Bible, they were hoping and believing in a day when the implements of war should be transformed into agencies of human service. They were seeing a day when universal good will would abound. Sad as may have been the recorded experience of wars and slaughters and impotent as may have been the voice of peace in much of this history, running through the Sacred Book was the declaration that "*God would make wars to cease.*" When Jesus was born, his advent was announced by songs of Good Will toward Men, and Peace on Earth; and when his hour came to declare his new

doctrine, he made one of the ten cardinal points a blessing upon peacemakers and a statement that all who attempted to live by the sword should perish by it.

From those ancient periods down through all the centuries, this virtue of peace and the folly and curse of war have been more or less articulate. God has never left the world without the voice of the prophet upon this supreme issue. Woodrow Wilson, Hugo Grotius, George Fox, William Penn, Charles Sumner, Benjamin Franklin, Edward Everett Hale, Elihu Root, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Charles E. Hughes, Albert K. Smiley, Andrew Carnegie, Gen'l Jan Sweets, Elihu Burritt and a host of others have kept this doctrine in attention during all the years. Progress may have been indescribably slow and wickedly retarded by men who have loved and prospered through the war game, but nevertheless, the leaven has been at work and silently and constantly the great revolution has been and is going on.

During the older years but little was done in an organic way with the exception of what was supposed to be the fundamental purpose of the Christian Church. It is obvious that those earlier Christians accepted the anti-war doctrine as being vital to

their existence, they accepted the Sermon on the Mount as a serious statement of Christian principles, and then in a misguided era they had so much fighting to do amongst themselves that consistency made it necessary for them to abandon that idea. The pitiful dark history which has followed the Church is evidence of the tragedy of that blunder. Then about 1650 George Fox and the little band of "Quakers," or "Friends," organized to make the fundamental peace message of Christianity the centre of their faith, and William Penn carried the hope to America in 1683, and through 250 years of being maligned, persecuted and at times ostracized, they have kept the faith. They laid the foundation for all that has followed. However, in broad terms it may be said that the organizational period of the peace movement is about a hundred years old.

Early in the nineteenth century societies more or less confined to local communities or cities began to spring up in Europe and America. But wider influence and permanence came with the organization of the "British Peace Society" in 1826 and the "American Peace Society" in 1828. The growth of the organized effort during the intervening years has been tremendous. As a result of the cumulative effect of these long years a new era has dawned,

a new determination is manifest. Modern methods of propaganda are being developed. The good day of peace seems not so remote. At the present time there are in the United States nearly one hundred peace societies working upon a federal basis. About thirty of these are strong organizations which have been developed upon the basis of voluntary individual membership, and each is promoting some special feature of the good-will idea. Every Christian church, Catholic and Protestant, has its board, commission or conference for peace. The Jewish synagogues are organized against the war system. The great service clubs and civic organizations have special committees for International Brotherhood. The "International Rotary" makes one of its six definite objectives, "World Peace." The Boy Scouts of the world are increasingly emphasizing their international good-will policy and program. The "Associated Advertising Clubs of the World" make "Universal Peace" the very centre of their annual convention. Perhaps no better illustration can be given of this new spirit than the following resolution which was adopted at a recent convention of these advertising men and which was signed by the chairman of each national group, who amid tremendous applause walked to the platform to sign as his particular country was reached in the roll call.

"RESOLUTION

"Unanimously Adopted By

"ASSOCIATED ADVERTISING CLUBS OF THE WORLD

"Convention, London, England, July 14-17
"1924

"Whereas, We the delegates to the twentieth annual convention of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World assembled in London, England, in July, 1924, realizing that we represent the business men and the avenues of publicity of the progressive nations of the world, appreciate the unspeakable tragedy of the Great War which staggered and overwhelmed the world,

"Therefore be it resolved:

"First: That we declare it our firm conviction that war as a method of adjusting international misunderstandings is the supreme peril of humanity and that we affirm the leaders of the nations of the world ought now to be called upon to promptly take such steps as will guarantee the security of the people against the return of the use of aggressive force. We condemn war as the enemy of human progress and futile as a means of adjusting disputes among the nations.

"Resolved:

"Second: That we pledge our utmost endeavour to awaken a more intense public sentiment against all those insidious movements which have a tendency to arouse war passions and to favour all proper efforts which are working to accomplish universal enduring world brotherhood and peace. We call upon the Advertising Clubs of the World to make this message of international good will part of their permanent program until war shall have a place only in history and world service, comradeship and international co-operation shall become universal.

"C. Harold Vernon, England
M. Behrens, Holland
Brian D. R. Kennedy, Irish Free State.
Sam. E. Hangbled, Ulster.
Ch. Maillard, France.
E. Danny, France.
A. Renpaloff, Germany.
S. V. Kirkloskav, India.
H. S. Van Stovor, Canada.
C. E. Chickland, Moe, New Zealand.
C. H. Jones, Australia.
Us. Borkormt, Belgium.
J. A. Bjorkund, Sweden.
Louis Wolf Richardson, Switzerland.
Louis Heains, Denmark.
S. Thompson Chary, Scotland.
J. Alvarez, Spain.
Herbert A. Wade, Hawaii.
Lou E. Holland, Pres. A.A.C. of W., United States."

The schools, colleges and universities without exception, as far as the author knows, are engaged in teaching the better doctrine of peace and good will, instead of glorifying war which was so much in their curricula twenty-five or more years ago. The founding of the "Walter Hines Page" chair of International Good Will at Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore is but one very significant illustration of the newer attitude of education towards world peace.

Organized Labour has avowed its purpose to cooperate in the abolishment of war. The "Legion," the organization of the veterans of the Great War, is against war. Some over-ardent peace workers may have differed with them upon certain methods, but none familiar with their real purpose may doubt their peace desires. The great philanthropists, the humanitarians, are adding their testimony to the importance of this revolution. Among those more important contributions for the cause was the gift in 1910 of Edward Ginn of Boston of one million dollars to the "World Peace Foundation." In 1911 Andrew Carnegie, who had been pondering over the destructiveness of war and who had already given the building for the "Peace Palace" at The Hague and other large sums for various kindred efforts, challenged the attention and admiration of all the good people of the world by the gift of ten mil-

lion dollars for the "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace." Latterly John D. Rockefeller Jr. built and contributed to the cause of interracial understanding and permanent peace the two beautiful buildings each known as "International House" one in New York City and one in Berkeley, California—that thus at these two ports the foreign students may be domiciled in the atmosphere of good will and brotherhood. These are only illustrations of what the philanthropists are doing and will do for World Peace. Thus the swelling tide of the great revolution goes forward, and thus these peace societies to which reference has been made continue. What is recorded here of the growth of sentiment and technique in America is exemplified in some form in nearly every major nation in the world.

A few years ago the author made a tour of the world under the auspices of the World Alliance for International Friendship and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Nineteen of the chief nations were visited. The Occident and the Orient, the Near East and the Far East were included. From ten to fifty peace societies were found in each. The multitude of these societies is not peculiar to any one country. They are everywhere. It is the story of an ancient and glorious hope, but it is as well the expression of an unparalleled mod-

ern endeavour. To some and to many, indeed, this great awakening, this passion for world peace seems a mystery. An English statesman and writer not long ago in recording his impressions of a tour in the United States said he was confronted everywhere "by a kind of mania for establishing world peace." To some it seems unreal, a highly emotional sensationalism, an easy resort for the ultra-idealist. The mandate of the many societies and committees and commissions working in this field may be touched here and there by some of these elements of sentiment, but if unattended by more powerful considerations they could hardly maintain a clientele and carry on year after year with ever enlarging volume of effort. There are basic facts which give compelling power to this movement:

First: The Disillusions which Followed the Last Great War. I am fully persuaded that much of the secret driving force in the organizations referred to can be found in this realm. How well people remember those high hopes which were cherished from 1914 to 1918. Great expectations were aroused in those terrible years. We were told that that conflict was "a war to end war." At that time there was tremendous power in this slogan. But as a matter of fact, notwithstanding the electrical thrill which went around the world when the order was given to "cease firing" on November 11, 1918,

the firing has never ceased. It has been going on somewhere ever since, and is going on yet. The war to end war was a failure so far as that hope is concerned. The people know now that war is not an agency to prevent other wars. War breeds war. That was a fatuous argument.

The people remember also that they were told that the war was to make "democracy safe for the world." This appeal to the common people was made with intense passion. It was cherished and believed by millions. The young men as they were being prepared for the slaughter had their morale preserved to a very large degree by the assurance given by platform speakers, and the printed page, that that war was to make the principles of democracy secure for ever.

On November 11, 1918, after the Armistice was signed, President Wilson in his address to Congress, said: "This war with its victory for the Allies will bring great and beneficent changes to humanity. It marks the beginning of the forward march toward liberty, democracy and the rights of the common man. It will break for ever the strangle-hold of the privileged classes." His was a great mind. He never yielded himself to any tricks of speech. He believed that with all of his soul. The people generally believed it, or at least hoped it was true. But in May, 1926, Benito Mussolini, addressing the

Chamber of Deputies in Rome upon the anniversary of the Fascist Revolution said, "BLACK SHIRTS, raise your flags and celebrate with act, will and fidelity this day, which is one of the most glorious of our revolution. The corporative organization of the state now is an accomplished fact. The democratic-liberal state, weak and agnostic, is no more; in its place rises the Fascist state. After the liberal English charter and after the French democratic code the Fascist law puts in concrete form the final ideal of history, the final type of organization and political civility." And in May, 1928, he seemed not to have changed his view, for in an address upon a similar occasion he said, "The humbug of universal democracy has been buried forever."

Who was right: Woodrow Wilson in 1918, or Benito Mussolini in 1926-1928? By the latest evidence it would appear that the latter was the real prophet. For now, as the field of politics and diplomacy is reviewed, every thoughtful person is led to realize that in the struggle of 1914-1918 democracy got the worst setback it has had in a hundred years. Instead of democracy we have dictators:

Spain is ruled by De Rivera.
Italy is ruled by Mussolini.
Poland is ruled by Pilsudski.
Hungary is ruled by Horthy.

Turkey is ruled by Kemal Pasha.
Greece is ruled by Venizelos.
Jugoslavia is ruled by Zichovitch.

King Alexander of Jugoslavia with one sweep of his hand and one stroke of his pen wiped out a Constitution.

The war did not make one contribution to the higher and nobler ideals of democracy, but, on the contrary, set the world in a whirl of confusion about permanent principles of government by and for the people.

Again, the people remember how much was discussed the moral uplift which the war was bringing to the nations. The platforms rang with messages declaring that the great struggle was going to enthrone principles of nobility, high courage, unselfishness, sacrificial service for the welfare of humanity and all of that.

Under the war spell men were lifted up to heights of unselfishness and generosity. They spurned the older methods of greed and gain and with solemn vows consecrated themselves to nobler deeds of service. The people observed this and believed a new moral code was being written out of the agonies of human sacrifice. But the awakening has been terrible. The dream of a better world morally is shattered. The result in the realm of morals is

vividly portrayed by Winston Churchill in his *Aftermath:*

"The boundless hopes that had cheered the soldiers and the peoples in their tribulations died swiftly away. The vision of a sunlit world redeemed by valour, where work would be less and its recompense more, where Justice and Freedom reigned together through centuries of unbroken peace—that vision which had flickered over the battlefields and beckoned from behind the German or Turkish trenches, comforting the soldier's heart and fortifying his strength, was soon replaced by cold, grey reality. How could it have been otherwise? By what process could the slaughter of ten million men and the destruction of one-third of the entire savings of the greatest nations of the world have ushered in a Golden Age? A cruel disillusionment was at hand for all."

Instead of these superb moral achievements, I do not know of one high authority in the realm of human welfare, idealism and religion who is not declaring that the subsequent years have been a period of moral letdown. Take it altogether, it has been a rude awakening to the fact that those high-sounding phrases were not based upon sound reasoning. The disillusion, with its disappointment, is saying to these societies "Carry on!" "Carry on this crusade against war!"

Second: The New Hope Born in the Heart of Millions of People that War Can be Abolished. Earlier reference was made to the fact that the author recently visited nineteen nations of the world, and he is glad to say that in every one of those nations the people, the common people, the great masses of folks, are crying out for delivery from armed force as a method of composing international misunderstandings. And somehow, there is a deep feeling that the hour has struck when humanity may secure a method of going forward without intermittent periods of collective slaughter.

Those who have suffered much and waited long have their hearts lifted up to a new level of expectation for the emancipation of a war-ridden world. The finest minds of every land may be found intensely engaged in the libraries and laboratories working furiously to discover new formulæ for peace which may be applied in the great crises which are yet to be. There have been dark and dangerous hours since 1918 which under an older régime could only have been solved by calling out the troops, but which have yielded to the new demand for conciliation.

There have been several incidents since 1918 of great bitterness over boundaries, minorities and treaties which threatened war and occasioned alarm throughout the world, but in each case the tre-

mendous pressure of the peace sentiment has prevailed. Constructive implements, which will be reviewed in a later chapter, the excellence of which has not been known in older generations, have emerged. The fact that the loudest talking militarists, nationalists, old-time war worshippers, have to disguise their real plans under the cloak of working for peace and against war has aroused the confidence of lovers of peace to believe that this generation is to be honoured of God in carrying this crusade to victory. This new hope that war is a curable disease is giving these organizations and all proponents of world peace mandate to "Carry on! carry on!"

Third: The Ominous War Clouds Which are Still Seen Upon Many Horizons. It is rather difficult today for the advocates of this cause to keep a proper balance in estimating new hopes and not overestimating them; in contemplating the serious possibilities of war and not becoming despondent. But it is foolish to be too optimistic. The fact is that the nations are still upon a war basis. If one man kills another man in any of the civilized countries the supposition is that he will be apprehended, haled to court and punished by the law of the land. But if some man reaches a high place in diplomacy and is a stubborn, unyielding type, refusing to use the conciliatory methods at hand for settling dis-

putes, and thrusts the world into a war, causing millions to be killed, he has only followed a legal process. We have legal procedure for conducting war. We have only informal, voluntary methods for keeping peace.

Not only is war legal, but we have thrown a great halo over it. It has been glorified in books, songs, orations, tablets, and monuments. Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, of the Broadway Tabernacle, says one of the remaining tasks in the peace movement is to rub out the word "glory" and substitute "horror" for war. The fact is that there are still many places and conditions in the world which present serious perils for the permanent peace movement.

We are grateful for Locarno with its peace compacts, but the passion and hate which sweep back and forth over the Rhine have not all disappeared. The Balkan States with their interracial jealousies give pause about the future. Russia, with her Soviet zeal for world conquest, presents an appalling opportunity for another great war. The possibility of economic imperialism in the United States is dreaded by peace workers everywhere. The Orient, with its recent determination to have justice and decency in the courts of human activities, is an unknown quantity in the realm of universal peace. There are far too many men who still talk complacently of the "next war" as an inevitable conse-

quence of the drift of nations to the old order of "secret diplomacy," "inside agreements," and "ententes." Not long ago, a public man of undoubted world peace desires, said in an address, "I simply cannot abandon my intellect; my conclusion upon mature thought is that we are headed straight to another war, the date and geographical locations are alone in doubt." His is not an isolated case. All of these questions will be dealt with more fully in the chapters on "Danger Zones," but are suggested now as a part of the conditions with which the peace program of the future must reckon. There is much to be encouraged about in the advances which have been made. There is reason to be alarmed about the future. This ominous fear about more wars is saying to the advocates of good will in the world, "Carry on! carry on!"

Recapitulating, it is enheartening to know the height and depth and breadth of this "Great Revolution." It is the greatest in history in that it contemplates the overthrow of the greatest monster which has ever attached itself to human life. The War System has fed and fattened itself upon the helpless innocent people in all history. It is greatest because it combines all sorts, kinds and conditions of people throughout the world. The statesman, the university president, the banker, the nobleman, the peasant, the artisan, the aristocrat, the

proletariat, the rich, the poor, the brown, the yellow, the black and the white, all are found among the crusaders. No other great reform ever had such a cosmopolitan following. It is greatest because it cannot be defeated. It may be modified in nomenclature and procedure. It may meet severe reverses at certain points and places. But it cannot be defeated. If another world war should break out and cause unheard-of and undreamed-of devastation, the peace efforts would not cease. If modern methods in another war should wipe out whole cities with poisonous gases in a day or an hour as they doubtless would; if every government on earth should fall, as they might; if that mysterious thing called "civilization" should utterly collapse with its systems of culture and education and modes of government, as it probably would do; if all that were left were the stalking sword-waving military autocracy, the Great Revolution would reassemble, reorganize and go forward. Such a truth as inheres in ridding the world of the War System may be "crushed to earth" for an hour, but it goes on. IT CANNOT BE DEFEATED.

Something of the deep power which is carrying this bloodless revolution to its great destiny can be found in a paragraph from one of ex-President Coolidge's Armistice Day addresses, which reads as follows:

"No one can look on war or that which may lead to war with equanimity. The whole essence of war is destruction. It is the negation and the antithesis of human progress. No good thing ever comes out of war that could not be better secured by reason and conscience. Every dictate of humanity constantly cries aloud that we do not want any more war. We ought to take every precaution and make every honourable sacrifice, however great, to prevent it!"

When the noblest men of public life are releasing sentiments like this for peace and against the use of armed force, the magnitude of this revolution may be understood. Its moral implications are so vital and far-reaching that it has a carrying power which cannot be exhausted by temporary reverses. It is a genuine Revolution because it is going to be successful.

II. THE GROWTH OF A NEW IDEA

IN THIS great struggle there seem to be two voices, each in turn appealing for first place of authority in the counsels and faiths of the people. As previously suggested, this question "Must we have War?" has come into the headline of every place where human thought is expressed and human desires are made known. It has taken precedence over every other question. It is mooted in the parliaments, in the pulpits, in the chautauquas, in the schools, colleges and universities, in the forums, in the clubs and upon the ships and railway trains. Every news item bearing upon it goes to the front page of all the papers, secular and religious. As a matter of fact, no issue of any concern for the future can be determined apart from this question.

If enduring peace is probable, one hypothesis is reached. If another war is more probable, then an entirely different conclusion is arrived at. Thus the debate goes on.

But notwithstanding all the discussions, it cannot be claimed that anything approaching unanimity has been reached. To one type the question is always answered in the affirmative. "Yes, we must have war."

"WORLD PROBLEMS ARE MY PROBLEMS"

Copyright, 1929, by the New York Tribune, courtesy of the New York Herald Tribune

The commercial ranks furnish substantial witnesses to this view. Not many months ago a business man of undoubted integrity said: "It is no use to get sentimental about this peace question. It may be proper to restrain war, to limit its area and more destructive manifestations and to make outbreaks as infrequent as possible. But it is in human nature to fight once in a while. We are fighters by instinct. The bulls fight, the roosters fight, the eagles fight, men fight." He is not alone in this view. There are many, many adherents to this sordid view. They answer, "Yes, we must have war."

The historians furnish some of the affirmative answers. Some of these men and women who have read, thought and observed the almost imperceptible progress which has been made in human relationships naturally lose hope and surrender to the pessimistic conception that the people cannot learn, that new ideas cannot fructify, that advances are only temporary and that what has been will be again. Then, with sad regret and humiliation, they join and say, "Yes, we must have war." The large number of educators who yield to this conclusion is rather distressing. The statement does not represent their desire; it is forced by their intimate knowledge of human history. They accept what seems to be the inevitableness of war even while

they must at the same time indict the results of their own profession.

The militarists of course shout their view aloud with evident pleasure. Reference to this type will be made in the chapters on "Danger Zones," but as a part of the evidence on the present situation complete reference could not be omitted here. At a session of a prominent literary group in New York City, a famous American admiral said, "We of this country are now going to extend our Merchant Marines. This means taking bread from the mouths of other people. This means a fight. We must get ready for another war." This man and all his school are saying upon every occasion and by every available means, "Yes, we must have war."

An old school of statesmen add the weight of their testimony to this side of the argument. In Lord Birkenhead's book upon *America,* in which he reviews his impressions of a tour in the United States, he says he found a widespread discussion about the "Outlawry of War" and an ultimate warless world. He calls it "silly" and then adds, "Any man who talks about the complete extinction of war among nations or of enduring peace is a 'Megalomaniac.'" He will also find some sympathizers with this conclusion. He and they will forever answer, "Yes, we must have war."

History is not a neutral witness. The man who

asks the advice of history can only have one possible answer. · History gives war a continuous place in its records. Systems of government have changed, methods of education have been revolutionized again and again. Religions have been modified. Methods of transportation and communication have been transformed by the hand of science. But history marks the unbroken power of the war system. This system in its deadly cycle makes slaves of all the other elements when it moves among the men of the earth. Governments, universities, banking houses, churches, synagogues and all scientists surrender when war sounds its tocsin. History says, "Yes, we must have war."

These are only a few hints of the fact that the discussion is not one-sided. Doubtless there are many who sincerely hope and pray for peace, yet who silently believe that war is permanent. But notwithstanding these seemingly impregnable entrenchments, and notwithstanding the unbroken traditions of history, another voice is penetrating the scene of human struggle, and is attracting world-wide attention. Another philosophy is demanding a hearing.

The author heard the late Rt. Rev. Charles R. Brent of the Protestant Episcopal Church in an address before a vast audience in Stockholm, Sweden, say: "I believe if the Christian churches will unite

in a campaign, war can be abolished in one generation. You may call me a fool for saying that, but if so, let me be known as one of God's fools." This great preacher and prophet left his testimony—"No, WE MUST NOT HAVE WAR."

A rapidly increasing number of the world's noblest idealists are joining the ranks of Bishop Brent's school of faith.

The churches and the religious organizations answer in the negative.

The Protestant Episcopalians declared in General Convention in 1926: "We believe that a warless world is a possibility; that life based on the spirit and principles of the Prince of Peace, so far from being visionary, contains the only practical method of security for the future."

The Baptists answered in 1927: "Whereas: The Christian conscience of the world is coming to recognize that war is neither inevitable nor necessary; that it is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ; that it is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts humanity today. . . ."

The Methodists issued the following in their 1928 General Conference: "We are convinced that war has become the supreme enemy of mankind. Its continuance is the suicide of civilization. War is not inevitable. Disputes between nations, like disputes between individuals, may be settled by ju-

dicial processes. We believe, therefore, that war should be made a public crime under the law of nations."

The Universalists in 1927 gave their ultimatum: "That war should never again be resorted to by civilized nations as the means for settling disputes or enforcing claims. That war should be declared by the nations to be an international crime."

The Jews in 1927 resolved: "We believe that war is morally indefensible. War that crushes the young, that brutalizes and degrades, that destroys all that is most precious, must not be honoured and glorified. It must be recognized for what it is, and this must be taught to our children."

The Congregationalists in 1927: "In view of the fact that war does not settle problems, but often increases them, that it is un-Christian in spirit, and must be much more inhuman and cruel in time to come, this Conference takes its stand as unalterably opposed to war."

The following paragraphs from the platform of the Catholic Association for International Peace:

"The nations of to-day live in a state of armed peace which is scarcely better than war itself, a condition which tends to exhaust national finances, to waste the flower of youth, to muddy and poison

the very fountain heads of life, physical, intellectual, religious and moral.

"The Church is the teacher and example of world goodwill, for she is able to inculcate and develop in mankind the 'true spirit of brotherly love.'

"The Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ . . . With might and main we shall ever strive to bring about this peace. . . . We ask that all assist and coöperate with us in this Our mission."

These are just a few typical quotations from the great religious bodies. They unqualifiedly say, "No, we do not need to have war."

The rooms of conference and arbitration, the assemblies of the parliaments, the executive offices of those in highest power in governmental administration are rapidly shifting the tone of their answer.

It is fair to say that more was written into treaties, arbitrations and legislative enactment in the eighteen months representing the calendar year of 1928 and the first half of 1929 than was produced in a hundred previous years. The tide is rising and the statesmen are using a new language.

"LOCARNO"

In the complicated story of the struggle for peace, Locarno will always be remembered as one of the

high spots of hope. It was here in 1925 that for the first time in over eleven years Germany came back into the councils of the family of nations. Some careful preliminary preparations had been made, but the conference itself moved rapidly to an unparalleled unity upon the main issues. After two weeks of intensive negotiations five treaties were adopted. Besides the Rhineland security pact, among Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain and Italy, which was the main purpose of the conference, the documents resulting from the Locarno conference included arbitration treaties between Germany and France, Germany and Belgium, Germany and Poland, and Germany and Czechoslovakia. Space will not permit the inclusion of all these treaties, but the essential principle running through all of them is illustrated in the preamble and in two articles of the treaty dealing with the Rhine River security.

"Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy. (Initialled at Locarno, October 16, 1925.)
(Translation)

"The President of the German Reich, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and

of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy:

"Anxious to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-18;

"Taking note of the abrogation of the treaties for the neutralization of Belgium, and conscious of the necessity of ensuring peace in the area which has so frequently been the scene of European conflicts;

"Animated also with the sincere desire of giving to all the signatory powers concerned supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties in force between them;

"Have determined to conclude a treaty with these objects, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

"Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows ——

"Article 1.

"The high contracting parties collectively and severally guarantee, in the manner provided in the following articles, the maintenance of the territorial status quo resulting from the frontiers between Ger-

many and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulation of Articles 42 and 43 of the said treaty concerning the demilitarized zone.

"Article 2.

"Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

"In faith whereof the above mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

"Done at Locarno, the 16th October, 1925.

"Luther
"Stresemann
"Émile Vandervelde
"A. Briand
"Austen Chamberlain
"Benito Mussolini"

Another reference is made to the exceptions which were inserted in all of these documents. But apart from any regrets which may be entertained about these, the greater fact is that these nations

were setting a higher standard for peace than had ever been known in their history. Locarno has made its superb contribution to the substitution of conference and arbitration for force. All that has followed, and all that will follow, has been and will be vitally influenced by this conference with its challenge for enduring peace.

I do not know how much the rapid movement in America may have been affected by the spirit of Locarno, but in any event a series of measures was brought forward and these have written a new page in American history.[1]

United States Senator Burton (then Congressman), of Ohio, raised the temperature of anti-war sentiment by introducing the following:

"Sec. 1. RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions or implements of war to any country which engages in aggressive warfare against any other country in violation of a treaty, convention, or other agreement to resort to arbitration or other peaceful means for the settlement of international controversies.

[1] The League of Nations, the International Court of Justice and the Hague Tribunal will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

"Sec. 2. Whenever the President determines that any country has violated any such treaty, convention, or agreement by engaging in aggressive warfare against any other country, and makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful, until otherwise proclaimed by the President, or provided by act of Congress, to export any arms, munitions or implements of war from any place in the United States or any possession thereof to such country, or to any other country if the ultimate destination of such arms, munitions, or implements of war is the country so violating any such treaty, convention or agreement.

"Sec. 3. Whoever exports any arms, munitions, or implements of war in violation of Section 2 of this Resolution, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to report any violation of Section 2 of this Resolution to the United States District Attorney for the district wherein the violation is alleged to have been committed. . . ."

It is interesting to those familiar with the facts that it was exactly this principle which Henry Wickham Steed, the editor of the *English Review of Reviews,* had suggested in addresses over the country

the year before, and about which President Coolidge had inquired of him at a luncheon conference in the White House in Washington.

But the greatest impression of the new anti-war attitude which was emerging came by the *Briand Proposal,* in June, 1927:

". . . For those whose lives are devoted to securing this living reality of a policy of peace the United States and France already appear before the world as morally in full agreement. If there were need for those two great democracies to give high testimony to their desire for peace and to furnish to other peoples an example more solemn still, France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries. The renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy is a conception already familiar to the signatories of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Treaties of Locarno. Every engagement entered into in this spirit by the United States toward another nation such as France would contribute greatly in the eyes of the world to broaden and strengthen the foundations on which the international policy of peace is being erected. These two great friendly nations, equally devoted to the cause of peace,

would furnish to the world the best illustration of the truth that the immediate end to be attained is not so much disarmament as the practical application of peace itself."

This was exactly what the Outlawry of War group had been talking about as a "frontal attack upon the war system." In the long delay while the people anxiously waited for our Government to answer Monsieur Aristide Briand's proposal, United States Senator Capper in December introduced a resolution which focused public opinion as well as that in Congress upon this great opportunity. In part it reads as follows:

Whereas Aristide Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, on April 6, 1927, publicly declared to the people of the United States that "France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual agreement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries," and proposed that the two countries enter into an engagement providing for the "renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy"; and

Whereas there has been strong expression of opinion from the people and the press of the United States in favour of suitable action by our

Government to give effect to the proposal of Monsieur Briand; and

"Whereas the United States being desirous of securing peaceful settlement of international disputes and the general renunciation of war as an instrument of policy should not be under obligation to furnish protection for such of its nationals as aid or abet the breach of similar agreements between other nations; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That it be declared to be the policy of the United States:

"1. By treaty with France and other like-minded nations formally to renounce war as an instrument of public policy and to adjust and settle its international disputes by mediation, arbitration, and conciliation; and

"Resolved Further, That the President be requested to enter into negotiations with France and other like-minded nations for the purpose of concluding treaties with such nations, in furtherance of the declared policy of the United States."

Here again was a language unknown to the older order of diplomacy. It gave no quarter to the war system, its intent was death to the doctrine of force.

While still waiting, Senator William E. Borah,

of Idaho, restless with delays, introduced a resolution which in part reads as follows:—

(Resolution reintroduced in Congress, Dec. 12, 1927)

"Whereas war is the greatest existing menace to society and has become expensive and destructive that it not only causes the stupendous burdens of taxation now afflicting our people but threatens to engulf and destroy civilization; and

"Whereas civilization has been marked in its upward trend out of barbarism into its present condition by the development of law and courts to supplant methods of violence and force; and

"Whereas the genius of civilization has discovered but two methods of compelling the settlement of human disputes, namely, law and war, and, therefore, in any plan for the compulsory settlement of international controversies we must choose between war on the one hand and the process of law on the other; and

"Whereas war between nations has always been and still is a lawful institution, so that any nation may, with or without cause, declare war against any other nation and be strictly within its legal rights; and

"Whereas revolutionary war or wars of liberation are illegal and criminal, to wit, high treason,

whereas under existing international law wars between nations to settle disputes are perfectly lawful; and

"Whereas the overwhelming moral sentiment of civilized people everywhere is against the cruel and destructive institution of war; and

"Whereas all alliances, leagues, or plans which rely upon war as the ultimate power for the enforcement of peace carry the seeds either of their own destruction or of military dominancy, to the utter subversion of liberty and justice; and

"Whereas we must recognize the fact that resolutions or treaties outlawing certain methods of killing will not be effective so long as war itself remains lawful; and that in international relations we must have, not rules and regulations of war, but organic laws against war; and

"Whereas in our constitutional Convention of 1787 it was successfully contended by Madison, Hamilton and Ellsworth that the use of force when applied to people collectively, that is, to states or nations, was unsound in principle and would be tantamount to a declaration of war; and

"Whereas we have in our Federal Supreme Court a practical and effective model for a real international court, as it has specific jurisdiction to hear and decide controversies between our Sovereign States; and

"Whereas our Supreme Court has exercised this jurisdiction without resort to force for one hundred and thirty-seven years, during which time scores of controversies have been judicially and peaceably settled that might otherwise have led to war between the States, and thus furnishes a practical exemplar for the compulsory and pacific settlement of international controversies; and

"Whereas an international agreement of such judicial character would not shackle the independence or impair the sovereignty of any nation; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That it is the view of the Senate of the United States that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies by making it a public crime under the law of nations and that every nation should be encouraged by solemn agreement or treaty to bind itself to indict and punish its own international war breeders or instigators and war profiteers under powers similar to those conferred upon our Congress under Article I, section 8, of our Federal Constitution which clothes the Congress with the power "to define and punish offences against the law of nations"; and be it

"Resolved Further, That a code of international law of peace based upon the outlawing of war and on the principle of equality and justice between

all nations, amplified and expanded and adapted and brought down to date should be created and adopted.

"Second, that, with war outlawed, a judicial substitute for war should be created (or, if existing in part, adapted and adjusted) in the form or nature of an international court, modeled on our Federal Supreme Court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign states; such court shall possess affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide all purely international controversies, as defined by the code or arising under treaties, and its judgments shall not be enforced by war under any name or in any form whatever, but shall have the same power for their enforcement as our Federal Supreme Court, namely, the respect of all enlightened nations for judgments resting upon open and fair investigations and impartial decisions, the agreement of the nations, to abide and be bound by such judgments, and the compelling power of enlightened public opinion."

It is not germane to discuss in this connection whether the author or the readers agree in every line and sentence of any of these measures; they give overwhelming evidence that those who say "No" to "Must we have war?" are more potent and determined than any of their type in older gen-

erations. Again the tides were swelling and the peace side of the struggle was steadily gaining.

In late December of 1927, Secretary of State Kellogg answered the French proposal for a bilateral treaty and suggested that the idea should be enlarged to a multilateral principle. Voluminous correspondence followed; explanations, interpretations, conditions, reservations were brought into consideration. Some very serious periods followed. Motives were impugned, suspicions aroused. But with patience and remarkable forbearance, the participants continued until upon August 27, 1928, in the Quay d'Orsay in Paris, the official representatives of nine great states met, while the civilized world waited with intense anxiety, and signed the Treaty. Even if this treaty is familiar to most of the readers it is important to include it as a part of this record of the growth of the new peace program.

"A Pact for The Renunciation of War

"The President of the German Reich,

"The President of the United States of America,

"His Majesty the King of the Belgians,

"The President of the French Republic,

"His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India,

"His Majesty the King of Italy,

"His Majesty the Emperor of Japan,

"The President of the Republic of Poland,

"The President of the Czechoslovak Republic,

"Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

"Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

"Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

"Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavour and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

"Have decided to conclude a treaty for that purpose.

"The Treaty

"ARTICLE 1.

"The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"ARTICLE 2.

"The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

"ARTICLE 3.

"The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington.

"This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other powers of the world. Every instru-

ment evidencing the adherence of a power shall be deposited at Washington and the treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the power thus adhering and the other powers parties thereto.

"It shall be the duty of the Government of the United States of America to furnish each Government named in the preamble and every Government subsequently adhering to this treaty with a certified copy of the treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the Government of the United States of America telegraphically to notify such Governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

"In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in the French and English languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

"Done at Paris the 27th day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

"[SEAL] GUSTAV STRESEMANN (*Germany*)
"[SEAL] FRANK B. KELLOGG (*United States of America*)
"[SEAL] PAUL HYMANS (*Belgium*)
"[SEAL] ARISTIDE BRIAND (*Republic of France*)

"[SEAL] CUSHENDUN (*Great Britain and North Ireland*)
"[SEAL] W. L. MACKENZIE KING (*Dominion of Canada*)
"[SEAL] A. J. MCLACHLAN (*Australia*)
"[SEAL] C. J. PARR (*New Zealand*)
"[SEAL] J. S. SMUT (*Union of South Africa*)
"[SEAL] LIAM T. MACCOSGAIR (*Irish Free State*)
"[SEAL] CUSHENDUN (*India*)
"[SEAL] G. MANZONI (*Italy*)
"[SEAL] UCHIDA (*Japan*)
"[SEAL] AUGUST ZALESKI (*Poland*)
"[SEAL] DR. EDUARD BENES (*Czechoslovakia*)

"Certified to be a true copy of the signed original deposited with the Government of the United States of America.

"Frank B. Kellogg
"Secretary of State of the United States of America

"The following countries have officially adhered to the general pact for the renunciation of war since August 27, 1928:

"Peru	Rumania	Cuba
"Liberia	Russia	Bolivia
	Ethiopia	

"The following countries have signified their intention to adhere to the general pact for the renunciation of war:

"Denmark	Latvia	Nicaragua
"Austria	Haiti	Lithuania
"Luxemburg	Egypt	Turkey
"Netherlands	Portugal	Albania
"Switzerland	Sweden	China
"Panama	Ethiopia	Spain
"Uruguay	Venezuela	Mexico
"Costa Rica	Estonia	Norway
"Dominican	Honduras	Siam
Republic	Bulgaria	Salvador
"Yugoslavia	Greece	Persia
"Finland	Guatemala	Hungary"

The Treaty was duly ratified by the United States Senate without reservation, by the overwhelming vote of 85 to 1, upon January 15, 1929. It will bind more than fifty nations to this solemn renunciation of war as the national policy for settling disputes and the substitution of "Pacific means." It is justly held by a great majority of the people to be the most important treaty ever to pass the Senate.

It would be impossible to put together all of the favourable comments which have appeared in the

public press concerning the influence of this pact upon all future international negotiations. They would fill volumes. The two which follow are typical. Premier Mackenzie King in moving for ratification by the Canadian Parliament made the following generous statement:

"Surely if there is such a thing as national honour, this treaty must form a big part in the future history of the world.

"This treaty goes a step farther than the League of Nations in renouncing war at all times. The work of the League of Nations for peace and disarmament has been greatly assisted by this treaty.

"Canada is united in the cause of peace, and the people of this country will welcome this treaty as another step on the road to universal peace."

If more evidence is needed to emphasize the high esteem in which this treaty is held by the statesmen of other countries, the following from an address given in Guildhall, London, in November, 1928, by Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, will suffice:

"I believe the time may come when, in the histories of this period, there will be no greater act credited to the United States of America than

this—that in this year she had the high honour of voicing the aspirations and the desires of mankind in presenting the Peace Pact to the nations for signature. Only let us remember what it is we have signed. It is so tremendous a thing that few of us realize it, and the result of that signature will be nothing unless the nations, realizing to what they are committed, make up their minds that their signatures shall be honoured to the end of time. In spirit, every nation which signs the Pact has got to keep it before its mind whenever it examines its own armaments; whenever it prepares estimates of its own armaments, it must realize what the implications of that Pact are. When so much of the world as has signed the Pact realizes and believes the implications of that Pact, then for the first time will the nations be able to talk disarmament in the war that led us into that Pact. For, believe me, the alternative before us in Europe is very simple, and the choice ought to be easy. We either keep faith with the spirit of the Pact we have signed or, in time, we go down a steep place all together like Gadarene swine and perish eternally. Let us all to-night—and there are representatives of many Great Powers here—grasp with both hands this opportunity which has been given us for a new start, and go forward with a new faith and a new hope."

Lord Grey in paying tribute to the Treaty in an address before the Institute of International Affairs in London, said:

"Sometimes things which were thought disastrous turn out to have good consequences. I believe the United States coming with this Pact now is doing more for the peace of the world than it would have done if it had entered the League of Nations at the beginning."

It would be absurd as well as dishonest to claim too much for the Pact. If it comes to its fruition it will need an immense amount of careful cultivation. Even its friends have found it necessary to hedge it about with a hundred and one qualifying clauses. The most ardent champions of the hope of the renunciation of war are still in a state of mind where they do not dare take the greater adventure of faith. The American Monroe Doctrine, whether officially a reservation or not, has been brought to the forefront and all the nations of the world are notified that nothing in that pact would deter us from fighting if anybody seemed to transgress the rules of that ancient message. Self-defence, the age-long blind from which the war makers have always been shooting, is left intact. Nobody has done any injustice to the self-defence ar-

gument. But nevertheless the Paris Peace Pact is a new page in history. Admitting everything that has been said and more that might be said, this treaty is the index finger which can be seen around the world pointing the way to a better day for humanity. Fifteen years ago, ten years ago, or even five years ago, language of this kind would have been repudiated without serious consideration. The Kellogg Peace Pact is a record of a new trend of thought in the world as well as an earnest of a nobler day which is just ahead.

It is like the flash of a lighthouse on a rock-reefed coast overlooking a troubled sea, whose rhythm gives certain evidence to the mariner of a peaceful harbour. The storm may not at once abate. The struggle may be prolonged and severe, but the morale of the crew is lifted. They work with renewed energy. Hopelessness gives way to confidence of victory.

The Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact also forms a newer and surer foundation upon which the individuals and the societies working for this cause can function in a far more efficient way. Every other treaty, every other agreement and every other instrument will feel the effect of the new psychology which has been brought about by the Paris Peace Pact. All the treaties among the nations which are now in evidence, or which will be written, are going

to feel the helpful impact of this renunciation of war. The Hague Tribunal will take on new significance in the field of arbitration when those who meet at that historic spot are buttressed by this profound sentiment for the renunciation of war. The International Court of Justice will find the nations more ready to accept its verdicts than they ever have been before. An advisory opinion upon which there has been so much dispute under the beneficent influence of the Paris Peace Pact will be almost equal to a full final verdict. The League of Nations will work in a new atmosphere, a new realization that its efforts in the past have not been in vain and that its program for the future can be approached with new confidence.

The whole field has been enriched by this treaty. Not only will this affect these constructive agencies, but it will give a new mandate to every society of every name organized to promote universal peace and good will among the nations.

It is the most compelling answer yet given to the question "Must we have war?" It declares by an International Concert of Nations "No!"

This treaty transcends every other reference in this chapter. Other items are freely and generously presented because they are a part of the evolution of a great idea. Future resolutions, however, to be seriously considered in any of the parliaments

of the signatory powers should be based upon the central fact of the Paris Peace Pact, viz., That war as an instrument of national policy has been renounced, outlawed. Any qualification of this declaration becomes at once an act of hypocrisy.[1]

The conferences to which earlier attention has been directed, were primarily concerned with the European issues which have compelled immediate consideration as a part of the postwar places of reconstruction. But, running all through these signal achievements which have had their influence upon world relationships there has been the work of the Pan-American Conference. This conference was called into existence by those who discerned the importance of amicable co-operative relations among nations upon the Western Hemisphere and the recognition of some exceedingly intense problems, which if not met by conciliatory means could easily precipitate wars. Any study of the growth of this new peace ideal which did not pay high tribute to these gatherings would be woefully incomplete. They have not taken quite as prominent a place in general publicity as some of the greater world gatherings such as the League of Nations, the Versailles

[1] Those who desire to follow through in perfect detail all the negotiations which led up to the Briand proposal and the subsequent events will find help in *War as an Instrument of National Policy,* by Prof. James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, published by Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Peace Conference of 1919, the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact in August, 1928. But their cumulative influence has been very great for the cause of universal peace.

The First Pan-American Conference was held at the city of Washington from October 2, 1889, to April 19, 1890. The invitation to this Conference was authorized by an act of Congress of the United States, promulgated May 24, 1888, directing the President of the United States to invite the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, Haiti, The Dominican Republic, and the Empire of Brazil to meet in conference with the United States. The same act sets forth topics which the Conference was called upon to consider. The first and most important one was: "To preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the American States."

The second session was held at Mexico City from October 22, 1901, to January 22, 1902.

The third conference was held in Rio de Janeiro from July 21 to August 26, 1906.

The fourth was convened at Buenos Aires from July 12 to August 30, 1910.

The fifth conference was held in Santiago, Chile, from March 25 to May 3, 1923.

The sixth conference was held in Havana in February, 1928.

It is impossible to give even a brief outline of

each of the gatherings. Those who would get a perspective of these remarkable meetings can obtain the complete reports by application to Hon. L. S. Rowe, Director General, Washington, D. C. They constitute a vital part of the world movement toward peace and away from war. At each meeting questions have been brought forward which were so intricate and delicate that fears often have prevailed for the outcome. But by patience and a fervent desire for mutual understanding upon every occasion there has been complete agreement. High ground has been maintained throughout, but the highest point was reached at Havana. In pursuit of this task, and without prejudice to the fact that all the nations of America are bound by treaty amongst themselves and with other Powers by means of many arbitration agreements of various kinds, the sixth Pan-American Conference at Havana unanimously reached the following agreement on February 18, 1928:

"The Sixth International Conference of American States resolves:

"WHEREAS: The American Republics desire to express that they condemn war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations; and

"WHEREAS: The American Republics have the most fervent desire to contribute in every possible

manner to the development of international means for the pacific settlement of conflicts between States;

"*1. That the American Republics adopt obligatory arbitration as the means which they will employ for the pacific solution of their international differences of a juridical character.*

"2. That the American Republics will meet in Washington within the period of one year in a conference of conciliation and arbitration to give conventional form to the realization of this principle, with the minimum exceptions which they may consider indispensable to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the States, as well as matters of a domestic concern, and to the exclusion also of matters involving the interest or referring to the action of a State not a party of the convention.

"3. That the Governments of the American Republics will send for this end plenipotentiary jurisconsults with instructions regarding the maximum and the minimum which they would accept in the extension of obligatory arbitral jurisdiction.

"4. That the convention or conventions of conciliation and arbitration which may be concluded should leave open a protocol for progressive arbitration which would permit the development of this beneficent institution up to its maximum.

"5. That the convention which may be agreed upon, after signature, should be submitted immedi-

ately to the respective Governments for their ratification in the shortest possible time."

All of this is the more remarkable when it is remembered that in the midst of the deliberations in Havana the threat of war was precipitated by the break of ambassadorial relations between Bolivia and Paraguay.

For some days it was feared that the conference would break up and adjourn perhaps indefinitely. But instead the entire strength was thrown into the effort to effect a conciliatory adjustment.

In pursuance of the second article of the resolution the official representatives of twenty-one Republics met in Washington, D. C., December 10, 1928, and remained in session until January 5, 1929, to complete the details for this compulsory board of arbitration. Out of their exhaustive statement covering the plans and principles which now become the law of these nations, the first plank is sufficient to convey the strength of this new idea which has taken deep root in the Western Hemisphere.

"Article 1. The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to submit to arbitration all differences of international character which have arisen or may arise between them by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, which it has not been possible to adjust by

diplomacy and which are juridical in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law."

The principle of arbitration is very old. It has been an evolution. It remained, however, for the Pan-American Conference to adopt this most positive and far-reaching resolution and to set up the machinery by which it may be made operative.

In full justice to the comprehensive work done at each of these six conferences, it must be remembered that many subjects were dealt with. Economics, tariff, state boundaries, human welfare, have had a generous place in the deliberations. But always the topic of the abolition of war and the substitution of peaceful methods was to the front. Other subjects seem to have appeared occasionally. This one was most prominent upon every occasion.

All of these summaries have been brought into this one chapter to give a compact picture of the growth of this new idea. World peace has made a profound impression upon religious organizations, universities, colleges and schools, civic societies, courts and parliaments. It is no longer relegated to a few so-called dreamers without practical methods or intelligent understanding of human affairs. A world change is taking place which surpasses the Renaissance in volume and importance.

III. THE MAJESTY OF PUBLIC OPINION

BEFORE hastening to the discussion of the detailed methods for the development of the peace movement, it may be well to note that all of the methods are probably not yet known to any living person, group or organized society. Many people grow restless and unhappy because the advocates of this supreme human hope are not prepared to lay down the exact chart and diagram of the full consummation so much desired. Some in their impatience want the ideal plans and specifications to the one hundredth part of an inch. One worthy man comes to mind, one of undoubted zeal for the cause, indeed one who has a passion for world peace far beyond the average layman. But he withholds active participation either through personal service or financial assistance because he insists that he must be convinced that some program is the valid and final one before he joins the crusade. He may be somewhat extreme in his view but he represents a type which is all too numerous. "Well, what is it we are going to do?" is a question propounded by many ardent perfectionists. It cannot be answered in complete detail by any man or organization. I do remember a few in the last ten years who seemed

THEY MAY BE SEEN BUT NOT HEARD

—By Morris in the Asheville Times

to think this superior wisdom had been imparted to them. They have found it difficult to fathom the dullness of perception which led other peace workers to fail to adopt their suggestions in toto. They entertained a sublime assurance that their pathway was simple, well defined, and led to overwhelming triumph. Changing situations have revealed their folly. So vast a transition of the whole human procedure from one of constant dependence upon force for its sanctions to one of conciliation is not to be realized by the sudden burst of an inspiration of one individual or group. It may all be summed up as an evolution under the long pressure of educational and inspirational influences. It will be here a little, there a little, line upon line, precept upon precept. There will be many experiments, many revisions, many disappointments, many reverses, many advances, and some day in some generation, by a combination of achievements, struggling old humanity will enter into the power of a warless world, unaware of the exact date or measure through which the glorious victory was won. When that is an accomplished fact, no group of men, much less any one individual, will be able to run up a flag of peculiar glory for having won the conquest. Nothing is more pathetic than the nervous desire which is seen, all too often, among peace advocates, societies, commissions, committees, to pin their par-

ticular labels upon measures which have in them promise for the success of the cause. Labels will be impossible in the complete story of winning world peace. The abolition of American slavery may be used as a case in point. There were years and years of crusading. Local communities, municipalities, districts by areas, states, and the federal government passed resolutions and adopted measures for restricting the extent and abuse of the slave trade. Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and others thundered away against the system. (None of them, by the way, ever proposed a formula.) But finally the whole world was amazed to read Abraham Lincoln's proclamation. He was most emphatic in his declaration that the "agitation" had prepared the way and made the emancipation a necessity. In the peace movement, notwithstanding the beneficent constructive implements to which tribute is ascribed in other chapters, there are doubtless other plans now being developed all unknown to the wider public, which are more vital than anything thus far written or spoken.

But whatever these may be or however valuable the measures already enacted are, the entire future impinges upon the "MAJESTY OF PUBLIC OPINION" —the compelling power of an aroused and educated conscience. A few years ago I addressed a meeting in Jerusalem upon the theme of Interna-

tional Concord and Peace. The place was an open amphitheatre, a "Red Triangle Hut." The audience which packed the building to its capacity was a motley, cosmopolitan cross-section of every race and condition on earth. Every tint that has been on any cheek was in evidence. The brown, yellow, black and white of all shades and variations were there. They represented all the cults and philosophies of ethics, morality, religion, economics, government and biology. Nothing was lacking from the weird mysticism of the Oriental with his non-resistant theory, to the hardest boiled Occidental with the force-and-might dogma carved in his features. At the close of the address, which was adapted so far as one had ability, to the hope of enduring peace among all these races, a prominent official of the British Government, asked me to go out at once for a conference. He drove his car out the Jaffa Gate, around the north wall. Scarcely a word was spoken until the Mount of Olives was reached. The car was stopped. At the invitation of the official we stepped out. He said, "Now look, this is the land where Jesus came to found a universal religion which was to be one of good will and peace among men." At our left hand as we stood, in the valley below could be seen little Bethany, with its traditions of friendly, hospitable, kindly homes. Yonder in the distance was the little

hamlet of Bethlehem over which the angels sang their peace cantata by the glow of the manger in a stable where Jesus was born. At the right in the deep ravine was the Garden of Gethsemane with its story of the night prayer of the Saviour for the redemption of a world of strife and war. The red sky of a setting sun in the Mediterranean Sea in the west cast a golden border upon the entire horizon. But yonder on the walls of the Jaffa Gate the British soldiers were planting machine guns to be ready to keep the Christians from slaughtering each other on the approaching Easter Sunday, for this was Palm Sunday. The Britisher continued: "You talk of world peace, but look at this scene of strife and envy. Go get five hundred men, get a thousand if you can, who can preach this doctrine of peace, and send them out to all the world as evangelizers to change the mind of humanity about this war business. I have visited recently twenty-two nations in Europe upon a semi-official errand. Certainly twenty of these are expecting another war and are getting ready. *We Must Change the Mind of the World to Believe in Peace.*" There was no error in this statesman's interpretation of the most important, and in many respects the most difficult element in the entire program.

Before insisting too much upon a one hundred per cent plan in the diagram of methods there is the

fundamental importance of this awakened, quickened public opinion. Surely there must not be indifference to all that will give promise of workable machinery, and liberal reference will be given later to these so far as they do exist. But at best they are in process and are only incidental to this compelling need for the hearts and minds of the people to be transformed.

There is no nation, no people, but that if the sentiment becomes strong enough and is kept in action long enough in behalf of any great moral cause, they will eventually get favourable results. At present the entire processes of governments and systems of education and religion are in the clutch of war. When any issue of a controversial character becomes acute, the minds of the people begin to think war; "who can mobilize the biggest army?" "who has the biggest guns?" These seem to be the automatic reactions of the minds of most people when critical issues arise. There is no civilized nation which does not have a perfectly charted method for quick resort to war. The transportation facilities for mobilizing, the location of concentration and training camps, the conscription of life and commissary supplies, are all scientifically prepared. The greater merchant marine ships which are constructed by the big powers, are planned with the facilities for being transformed into war implements in a few

hours' time, if needed. The mode of procedure for declaring war is made rapid and smooth.

The resources of man power and food stuffs and production throughout the world are so organized that about all that is necessary is for the man at the seat of authority, whether he be a King, a Prime Minister, a Dictator, a Minister of War, or a President, to touch the button and the system works.

The Right Hon. David Lloyd George never released a finer bit of humour than in the campaign of 1918 when with that political astuteness for which he is so famous he proposed that the "Kaiser should be brought to trial." The informed smiled at the cleverness of this campaign slogan but many people in different parts of the world thought it a great and grand thing to do. Of all living men none knew better than Lloyd George the absurdity of that statement. For what offence was the Kaiser to be tried? Even granting that he precipitated the war and was guilty of that, which by the way is not being discussed here, that was no crime. He was within his legal, national and international rights. Suppose he was held to be responsible for the ten million deaths upon the battlefields. That was no crime. He was only exercising a prerogative which had been conferred upon him by the legal status of war. If the Kaiser had sometime killed one cab driver in Berlin he might have been haled

to court, but not for killing millions in war. The public is outraged and can be led to react against the killing of one person. But the wholesale butchery of war is legal. It might be of interest even now if Lloyd George would enlighten the people as to what officer could have been sent to arrest the Kaiser. There is no International Chief of Police to whom the service papers could have been referred. The home folks would also be glad to know to what court he would have been taken. The International Court of Justice is not a criminal court. There is no jail for international criminals at Geneva or at The Hague. The inference was that he might be hung. But there is no international gallows or executioner. It was a joke. The Kaiser had all the law on his side.

From this status of acquiescence in the legal sanction to one which will outlaw war, and make its use the act of vicious banditry, is a tedious task of educating the people. Against these ancient bulwarks of the war game is the impotence of the peace machinery so far as governments are involved. No nation has ever cherished or believed in peace strongly enough to set aside one man or woman to be officially devoted to the cause of international good will. They have scores for promulgating war. Next to the "Palace" where the King lives, or the "White House" where the President resides, the

most conspicuous building in every capital of the world is the headquarters of the *War Department.*

Then, too, war has a good deal of real popularity. There is a thrill about war. The bands play, the bugles blow, the drums beat, and the gallant soldiers go marching by, while the home guard, the safe and sane cheer, and say, "Isn't it beautiful to see such patriotism, such courage? Aren't they a fine lot? *They will win us a great victory.*"

Under the spell of war men forget littleness. They rise to heights not hitherto known, of willingness to serve unselfishly some great cause. Thousands of Americans in 1917 who were too old for enlistment in the Army or Navy vied with one another to give themselves to their country for "$1.00 a year." Factory women, school teachers, business women, and daughters of the millionaires knit sweaters, outfitted kit bags, and fried eggs in the canteens for the love of country, and found in doing these things a joy they had never known. It is no small task to change these minds to a similar satisfaction in the service of world peace. This crusade must discover and make real some moral equivalent for this "kick" which so many realized as they gave all they had of emotions, time, energy and money to the war service.

Also, war is so envisaged with its lure of glory

that we move about and have our being in an atmosphere which impresses us more or less favourably with the idea. In repeated trips around the world I have been increasingly impressed with the entrenchment of war by the monuments, tablets and public memorials to great Generals, Admirals, Battles and significant Victories. Every public park or plaza of which I have remembrance has a war psychology in it by its monuments and tablets. No city, town or hamlet seems to know how to celebrate any anniversary or commemorate any event except by a military display.

Some time ago a small town wished to plant a tree in a park as a tribute to a citizen who had given years in non-compensated endeavour to beautify the gardens and parks of the place. Suitable arrangements were made, the mayor and his cabinet were to take part, and an address was to be delivered. But the committee, apparently knowing of no other adequate thing to do, ordered out the soldiers with full equipment. Every cannon and gun for miles around was brought into the scene. It looked like the great war all over again. The war thrill had to be employed, just to plant a tree in a garden, to honour a noble citizen. The military—the war—theory is so written in the life of the people that when public service emotions are stirred they want a cannon to look at. The answer to all of this is

not a treaty, a court, a league, or a pact, but an aroused public mind which can understand the greater virtues and glories of peace, and can feel something of the sorrows of millions who have been bereft by wars.

There has been no hour when the evidence of the power of public opinion to get results was more abundant than now. The minds of the people will vividly recall those anxious hours when American relations with Mexico were strained to the breaking point. Behind the scenes was Nicaragua with its threats of revolution and consequent peril to American life and property. The oil investors from the United States were in revolt against what they termed discriminating Mexican legislation. Demands, almost ultimatums, were being exchanged. Gossip said the American Army was ready to cross the border. Many societies working in the field of good will appealed to their members to write letters, send telegrams and petitions to their representatives in Washington protesting against the threat of war. These messages poured in. Their authors were called "Bolshevists," "Reds," "Pacifists," "Traitors." But the volume swelled and the pressure was tremendous. Without claiming too much or yielding too much the simple fact was that a peaceable way was found for meeting the crisis. One ambassador of a pugnacious, threatening type

was recalled and Dwight W. Morrow was sent to Mexico City and the war cloud was lifted. *Public Sentiment Scored a Victory.*

In 1924 when the relations of several nations were under terrific strain with China, I chanced to be in London. There was unique provocation for British military action. The legation of Hankow had been looted. British property had been destroyed in several places. The old régime clamoured for action. War seemed inevitable. There was a hush of deep feeling over the old city. Silent but intense crowds were going to and fro in Downing Street and around Westminster. The papers were filled with appeals for peace and conciliation from the great leaders of the churches and the educational institutions. Labour organizations filed their demands for "No War in China." At about that time it was reported that one company of British soldiers who went out on the bund at Hankow to stop a mob, met them with their muskets in horizontal position rather than with fixed bayonets, and in position to fire on command. It is not meant to indict any one of that Government of a desire for war. They were all hoping to avoid open warfare. But it is not recorded in previous history that any British army ever before met a hostile mob with their muskets in that position. A conciliatory

method was discovered. War did not break out.

Public Sentiment Scored a Victory.

A more recent achievement for public sentiment was in the debate in the United States Senate upon the "Kellogg-Briand Peace Treaty." The obstructionists were set for its defeat. One Senator had said it would be "dead by March fourth." Another said it "was not worth a postage stamp." The plan was obviously to neutralize it with reservations. Once again the good-will organizations put their influence into active operation. Letters, telegrams and petitions flooded the mails and delivery systems. One member said if it kept up another month he would ask for a special secretary to take care of that correspondence. The churches, the synagogues, the service clubs and their allies joined in the demand for ratification. The peace-loving women in conference upon the "Cause and Cure of War," two thousand strong, from every state in the Union, took one afternoon off and went to the Capitol and by delegations called upon the Senators from their respective states pleading for action. One Senator, a bit disturbed by this intrusion, said to his callers, "Don't you think it would be better if you women would stay at home and mind your own business?" The chairman of the delegation smiled as she answered "We do not want to stay at home all the time. We are now in Washington minding our own

business." It was known that there were about fifteen Senators who would have been glad to defeat the treaty. It was called a "farce," a "paper compact," a "meaningless gesture," a "surrender of American autonomy." It passed by 85 votes to 1. *Public Sentiment Scored a Victory.*

No hint is implied which would lessen the marvellous leadership of Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. For those long days and nights he withstood every attack of the enemies of the treaty and so completely answered their fallacies that all but one voted "Yes." But public sentiment was his unfailing ally.

It is gratifying to note that this new public opinion, so intense for the preservation of peace, has a technique not hitherto known. As illustration, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches is now organized in the thirty-one greatest nations, with the exception of Russia. If some such crisis should arise as the one of July, 1914, these alliances could be appealed to and influences put in action in twenty-four hours which would register the protest of peace-loving folks around the world against hasty resort to war. Funds are kept available which would make possible the convening of the greatest educational and political and religious leaders in the world inside of two weeks' time to take such action as might seem

necessary. Not only has there been a growth in peace sentiment during the last ten years but as an organized sentiment it can function. It may be a matter of mere conjecture but it is not at all impossible to believe that had there been some such organized public opinion to have co-operated with Lord Grey in the last week of July, 1914, the Great War might have been averted. All who are informed of the facts are persuaded that that worthy statesman did his utmost to save the world from that tragedy. But he laboured for the most part alone. However, whatever may be the fact of that tragic week, the next period of that kind will find the people, the home folks, in tremendous power being heard for peace, conciliation, arbitration, and against resort to force. Be it well known that every effort through printed page, spoken word, meetings and conferences which will quicken and vitalize public opinion in favour of good will and against war, is a potent asset to the day of enduring peace.

THE LISTENER-IN

—Macauley in the Brooklyn *Eagle*.

IV. JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

IT MAY appear that the considerations in this chapter are very similar to those in the chapter on the "Growth of a New Idea," and in some respects that is true, but actually their implications are not the same. In "The Growth of a New Idea" an attempt is made to present the much stronger positions being taken in the sphere of those friendly mediations through treaties and arbitration which are based upon voluntary action. Attention is called to the basis of adjustments where mutual agreements may be reached without resort to force. But many of the plans advanced in that chapter have been in vogue in some form for generations. For example, arbitration is as old as the Bible. Conferences to adjust feuds were sometimes held among the wildest tribes. The North American Indians recognized these methods until they became convinced that the white man would not keep faith with his promises. Cecil Rhodes held arbitration councils with the Matabeles at Matopas a long time before the Boer War. The sanctions for these methods are stronger than at any other period, but they lack that quality which is imperative when friendly considerations fail.

There has been a point at which all the conciliatory implements in the past have not been sufficient; they have broken down in the great crises, with the result that an open gap has been left in which a "declaration of war" was the logical and apparently the only next step.

The present chapter contemplates those conditions where agreement is not possible by methods of mutual agreement and yet where settlements can be made by resort to the Judiciary.

It is well for the cause represented by the specific organizations working in the world peace field, that contemporaneously with their efforts there is an ever enlarging company of men and women, less emotional, less inclined to indulge in extreme statements, who are calmly facing the realities of human nature and history. They are looking squarely at the sober untinted facts. More ardent platform peace advocates sometimes call them "too conservative" and once in a while impugn their motives. These people of the more judicial, matter-of-fact characteristics rarely unite with the highly organized peace societies. They shrink from the methods employed. They are not entirely in harmony with the "resolutions" adopted by the conventions. But they are not less peace builders and are equally solicitous for the abolition of war. I refer to those men who are working dispassionately but fervently for the dis-

covery and development of machinery which may be available and adequate for the adjustment of international disputes by judicial methods. This school has been ably represented in America by such men as President Woodrow Wilson, Chief Justice William H. Taft, Hon. Elihu Root, Hon. John W. Davis, former Justice John H. Clark, Hon. Charles E. Hughes, and Hon. Newton D. Baker. Many more could be suggested but these illustrate the type. Their counterpart may be found in most of the other major nations. They are not indifferent to the supreme idealism to which so many would hasten, but they are by temperament and tradition of the kind who, accepting the logic of a situation, work from there to the next step. They represent the thought of those who propose to furnish a justiciable method by which every mooted question that may be justiciable shall have an implement at hand; one which will be so sound in its constitution, so superb in its membership, that no nation would desire, much less dare, to be indifferent to its functions. The sphere in which they operate and in which they may make their contribution, however, presupposes certain facts.

One presupposition is that *misunderstandings and serious disputes will continue to arise.* With the judicial-minded it is absurd to dream and talk of a sudden moral alchemy by which all the peoples

of the nations and races will so abhor war and love peace that enduring good will will become the unbroken order and universal peace abound without a protest. In this hypothesis they are correct. The humanitarian, the reformer, the economist and the religionist may shout as they will of their Utopias, but human nature is pugnacious, it loves to disagree with somebody and sometimes with everybody. Grievances fancied or real will emerge. As a matter of fact, it may be as well for the world that differences of opinion about methods of government, just economic privileges, territorial boundaries and trade routes should occur. There is real value in discussions. Any meeting or conference where there is perfect agreement is hardly worth being convened. It is passé. Divergent views among races and nations are not necessarily evil or a menace. The curse of them is when the war method, which has for ages been the final resort for determining who was right, is resorted to. War is never an intellectual, reasoning process by which justice is to be achieved. In the old order, when disputes arose and the controversies became acute, the centre of thought was not upon justice but upon the probable result of armed conflict. The war system has always answered misunderstanding in cold, calculating terms, "the side with the biggest guns, the most warships, the largest supply of poisonous

gases is right." The judicial group referred to propose to supplement the conciliatory implements with the legal method for the future.

A second presupposition is that *the war system must be stripped of its legal status.* One of the ablest of these men, speaking upon the International Court of Justice, said: "It can never become what it ought to be until resort to war is made a crime by an International Code." This is another sound doctrine. Reference has already been made to the hitherto legal standing of war. For all the centuries of which history has been written this method called "war" has been cloaked with the high sanction of law. So long as that position remains, courts, no matter how they may be constituted, will have small value. They may be high grade dispensers of advice or opinions, but without legality written over the entire war procedure the court is impotent. War must be renounced as an instrument of a nation's legal rights. War must be outlawed. It must be made a crime.

The cause owes a tremendous obligation in this connection to the "Outlawry of War" movement, conspicuous in the leadership of which have been S. O. Levinson, Hon. William E. Borah, Colonel Raymond Robins, Justice Florence Allen and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison. Upon every possible occasion, and through every available method they

have pressed this demand for the overthrow of the war system by a frontal attack upon its legal status. Amid severe criticism, even among other peace advocates, they have relentlessly forced the issue for the outlawry of the whole theory of war.

Even if the foundations for some of the criticisms of this appeal are granted it was nevertheless a head-on flying squadron attack upon the legal protection of the war system. The Kellogg-Briand Paris Pact is in part an answer to this crusade. The Paris Peace Treaty is a long way from being a full outlawry of war. It lacks many things these men have been demanding. But as recorded in the previous chapter, it is the best thing ever written and adopted. More is to be done because this judicial group may only poorly function while there remains one legal peg or reservation for the war idea to stand upon or hide behind. These methods of the legal conception of composing disputes among states will meet the same fate which has overtaken others who have laboured in vain, until resort to armed force is made a crime against a fixed international law.

Arbitration may be developed to its highest point; a will to peace may be carried to the *n*th degree with the people; the doctrine of conciliation may be preached from the housetops; but they will eventually fail until war as a legal instrument is re-

nounced, outlawed, and the perpetrators of it, whether by cliques, races or nations, can be adjudged criminals and haled to court. This is a fundamental principle without which all the judicial theories will break down.

A third presupposition is that *there must be a great parliament of all the nations.* If world peace is anything more than a fantastic ideal for the idealistically minded people to play with, there must be one great international parliament which will include all the nations of the world. As an illustration, the Congress of the United States, ineffective as it may sometimes be, nevertheless acts as a forum where the citizens of forty-eight different commonwealths through their representatives may annually or semi-annually bring their views into the light of discussion. And there those discords which may be allayed by legislative enactment are so adjusted. Civil war would break out inside of five years in some sections of the country were it not for that confidence imposed in the national Congress. The story of the early history of America after the adoption of the Constitution is a case in hand. New England wanted to secede. She was suspicious of Pennsylvania. The South was in revolt against New York. Had it not been for the prompt exaltation of the functions of the new Congress, civil war would have disrupted the Union before it was ten

years old. A more recent illustration of this can be found in the long bitter struggle over the location of the Boulder Dam. The feeling has been so intense in the different parts of that area that there would have been fighting, bloodshed—had it not been for that recourse all had in Congress. The people let their representatives have it out in *debate.* They have accepted the result of the parliament. And now with the new development of science and the interlocking of all the nations, there is coming this positive need for one great world legislative parliament. This does exist now to a very large degree in the League of Nations. It is not the desire of the author at this time to go back into the history of the League and discuss whether the United States ought to have joined in 1919 or otherwise. There would be but little value in going over that question now, for we shall have to go from where we are to something better. However, in view of other considerations to which attention is to be directed later, it may not be irrelevant for the writer to say that he was among those who were deeply disappointed that the United States did not go into the League at the beginning. But it is equally true that he was among those who were not surprised at the long discussions, the weary "reservations" and the final action. One would have been glad to have followed the sentiment of

Ambassador Dwight Morrow who said, "I would have been willing to go into the League with or without reservations." The awful fears which some held about the League as an instrument of war have not proven valid. But the important fact is that the League does exist. It has been of great service to the cause of peace and the United States is increasingly finding itself in co-operation with it. An uninformed visitor to Geneva would scarcely discover that the United States was not an official member of the League unless perchance he happened to be in an opening session of the Assembly at roll call. He would hear the names of fifty-five nations called and see each in turn present its credentials. He would doubtless notice the omission of the United States, Russia and Turkey. Otherwise, in all the activities, in the hotel lobbies, the clubs, the social functions and in the sub-committee meetings the Americans are conspicuous. In the headquarters building the American section of the secretariate, under the direction of Arthur Sweetser, is much in evidence. In the various divisions of the secretarial staff, not less than twenty Americans are in service in important posts. So far as one can learn in studying the vast organization of the League, Americans are prominent either by official, semi-official appointment or voluntary action in every sub-committee, commission or board. Per-

haps no finer or more convincing illustration of this can be sighted than by a quotation from the minutes of one of the sessions of the Assembly.

"AULAND ISLANDS—When the dispute between Sweden and Finland over the ownership of the Auland Islands came before the Council of the League in 1920, the Government of the United States was asked to designate an American who might be invited by the Council to serve on the Committee of Rapporteurs to devise a settlement. The Department of State named Abram I. Elkus, formerly Judge of the New York Court of Appeals and Ambassador to Turkey, and he accepted the Council's invitation. In June, 1921, the Council received the final report of this Committee, and the dispute was settled in accordance with its recommendations. The islands were declared to be Finnish, but Finland had to give certain guarantees for the protection of the Swedish population."

America participated officially upon this Council.

This is not a peculiar incident; it runs all through the proceedings.

The United States is represented by from one to six members in the following subdivisions of the work of the League:

Disarmament
Economics and Finance
International Law
Health
Traffic in Opium
Protection of Children
Intellectual Co-operation
Financial Reconstruction of Austria
Social Questions
Deportation of Women and Children
Greek Refugees
Labour.

As one reads the reports of these Committees the conspicuous place which the names of prominent Americans occupy rather makes the theory of non-participation seem absurd. The following names of many of our country's very best are woven into the warp and woof of the life of the League.

Miss Grace Abbott, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Willis H. Booth, President of the International Chamber of Commerce
Hon. Arthur Bullard, former Chief of the Russian Division, Department of State
Surgeon-General H. S. Cummings

Hon. Norman H. Davis, former Under-Secretary of State of the United States

Dr. Haven Emerson, Professor of Public Health Administration, Columbia University

Hon. Raymond B. Fosdick, Under-Secretary General of League of Nations, 1919-1920

Hon. Hugh S. Gibson, American Ambassador to Belgium

Hon. Arthur Witter Gilbert, Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Massachusetts

Harry F. Guggenheim, President of the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics

Hon. Walker D. Hines, former Director-General of United States Railroads

Roy W. Howard, of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Charles P. Howland, Chairman Greek Refugee Settlement Committee, 1925-1926

Professor Manley O. Hudson, Professor of Law, Harvard University

Hon. Charles E. Hughes, former Secretary of State of the United States

Hon. David Hunter Miller, New York

Hon. Robert Andrews Millikan, Vice Chairman of the National Research Council, Washington

Hon. John Bassett Moore, formerly Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, former American Ambassador to Turkey

Hon. Colonel Robert Edwin Olds, former Under-Secretary of State

Hon. John D. Rockefeller Jr., New York

Hon. Elihu Root, former Secretary of State of the United States

Professor James Brown Scott, Trustee Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Robert Paine Scripps, President of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Hon. Jeremiah Smith Jr., in charge of financial reconstruction of Hungary, 1924-1926

Professor C. Vibbert, International Educational Institute

Hon. George W. Wickersham, former Attorney-General of the United States

Hon. Hugh R. Wilson, American Minister to Switzerland

Colonel Arthur Woods, formerly New York Police Commissioner.

These facts answer some questions for ever:

First, America is in the League. We could not stay out if we would.

Second, the League is not a dangerous society. It is not a "Super-state" seeking to usurp the liberties of the United States or any other countries. If it were these men would not work with it.

Third, the League is a genuine agency for world peace. These names are recognized as proponents of peace among the nations. If there were a threat of war behind the scenes they would be the first to condemn it and withdraw.

Some of the most earnest advocates of the Paris Peace Pact, particularly Senator Borah, who was originally very much opposed to the United States entering the League of Nations, are now in favour of the League. Senator Borah now indicates that with the adoption and actual working of the Paris Peace Pact the way is made quite available for the United States' larger affiliation with the League. But whatever may be the past of this League, whatever may be the vicissitudes through which it may go, world peace demands a world parliament.

In this connection it is of more than small interest to note that at Geneva, Switzerland, there is emerging a sort of International Capital. No acts have been passed by any government signifying it as such but it is becoming that without legal enactment. It would require a volume to catalogue all the organizations engaged in world tasks which have their headquarters in this one city. It is not at all certain that Geneva will be the final location for these organizations. The profiteers and the big price fixers in Geneva may make it necessary for the League of Nations to find a neutral place, a

kind of "District of Columbia" which can be protected. But with the growing world unity of economic, social, educational, political and religious problems one great centre, by whatever name it may be called, a world centre is demanded for efficiency and co-ordination of effort. It is part of the irresistible trend of modern internationalism. And in this world capital there will be this world parliament, this congress, this league. It will be as ridiculous for any nation worthy of the name to stay out of it permanently as it would be for Pennsylvania to refuse to be a member of the Congress of the United States.

This inevitable solidarity of the common tasks of all the nations is nowhere made more apparent than in the recommendations of the 1928 Paris Reparations Conference for the establishment of an "International Bank." The economic procedures of the various States have become so involved and complicated that a sort of universal bank is required. And Dr. Ivy Lee now proposes an "International Affairs College" where picked young men and women may be educated in modern international methods.

In the fourth place, *there must be a world's Supreme Court.* As strongly as one might advocate a parliament of the nations following the illustration of a national Congress, there is the same necessity

for a court, a high court, a supreme court to which every international question which cannot be straightened out through conferences, parliament or arbitration may finally be submitted. This must be a court where all nations can participate and in which all have such confidence that they will accept its judgment without a thought of resort to force. Recurring to the illustration of the relation of the Congress of the United States to the commonwealths, this in general may be applied to the court. If the people of the North and the South in 1860 had had the confidence in the United States Supreme Court which they have at the present time, that terrible catastrophe would have been averted. But as a matter of fact, when the strain of that situation came on, neither the North nor the South was willing that the Supreme Court should render the verdict on the questions which were then being mooted. They seemed to have exhausted the means by which their divergent views could be reconciled, and knowing no better way they fought. Universal peace, therefore, necessitates the renunciation of war as a basis upon which the judiciary may function. Its outlawry demands a great Parliament in which all the nations shall participate, and a High Court that shall be accepted as a tribunal of final authority to settle difficulties among races, nations or classes of people. It is naturally toward this court that the

group already referred to look with greatest hope. They are trained in the school of thinking which understands the chaos, the confusion, the anarchy in society when laws are not just or where courts are not respected.

It is very suggestive that in the official minutes of the Pan-American Conference, whose adoption of the resolution calling for compulsory arbitration appears in a previous chapter, there should be found this memorandum, "This presupposes some sort of a tribunal to which application can be made by one nation against another." Even with "compulsory" arbitration they seemed to envisage the necessity for a supreme court as a place of final decision. As this ideal slowly takes root in the minds of the people as a world institution, difficulties which seem almost insurmountable are encountered about the volume of accepted international law upon which this International Supreme Court can render its decision. It is said it must wait for the codification of an adequate code of laws. As a matter of fact, we have codified some laws and there are enough in existence which have practically become International Law by their long usage, that there remains at the present time no valid excuse for any nation anywhere on earth to refuse to accept the decisions of the International Court of Justice.

Here again there is ground for real hope. The

International Court of Justice does exist. It is growing in influence with each year. Fifty-two nations have adhered to it by legislative enactment. The suspicions which were so much discussed have proved groundless. Its decisions have been accepted without an exception. Thirteen final judgments have been rendered in cases which threatened war. Four critical cases are pending for final judgment in 1929. Fourteen advisory opinions have been handed down. About as many more of this designation are pending. No nation involved where the decision has been adverse has threatened to withdraw or to disregard the verdict and go to war. I have neither the ability nor the inclination to discuss the technical questions involved in the "Advisory Opinion" feature of the Courts. I have among intimate personal friends some who believe this function ought never to have been included in the constitution of the Court. They regard it as a menace to world peace. I have others equally intimate who hold exactly the opposite view. But passing for the present the question of who is right upon this point the more important issue is a World Court and its absolute necessity for the continuance of peace. The present court is worthy of confidence and encouragement. Its full strength awaits only the more complete codification of international laws upon land and sea and the adherence of the United

States of America. Those superior intellects and personalities spoken of are investing talents of mind and energy in the effort to make peace abiding upon the hypothesis THAT WAR IS TO BE MADE UNLAWFUL—THAT A WORLD PARLIAMENT OF ALL NATIONS IS A CERTAINTY—THAT A WORLD SUPREME COURT WITH FULL POWER IS TO BE.

The story of the International Court of Justice in many respects is not unlike an incident in the history of the League of Nations. It grew out of the recommendations of the American delegates to the two arbitration conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907. They were aware of the necessity of a Court with legal authority to fulfill that part in the struggle to preserve peace which The Hague Tribunal for arbitration could not meet. The Court, however, came into reality when the League of Nations, recognizing the unoccupied field so long as there was only an arbitration tribunal and a parliament, appointed a committee in February, 1926, to formulate plans for a High Court. The report of this committee was adopted unanimously by the Assembly of the League in December of the same year. Europeans and Americans alike are glad to ascribe to the Hon. Elihu Root a prominent place in the inception of the idea, the authorship of the Constitution and in constant solicitude for its welfare. This is evidenced further by the invitation

extended to him, and accepted by him in 1929, to be one of a committee of jurists to evaluate anew the work and procedures which might make it more effective. In Mr. Root's advanced years it is doubtful if he would have assumed any such responsibility except to render service to this world's Supreme Court. Like the League, it has been powerfully influenced by America. Two of our greatest men have been honoured by positions among its judges. The Hon. John Bassett Moore, who has served with such distinction for six years, now in 1929 is to be succeeded by the Hon. Charles E. Hughes. But by the irony of fate—or something else—the United States is not yet an official member. The why of this omission has many ramifications, but principally because of the fear that the League would dominate the Court and perhaps in some remote time a decision unfavourable to American policies should be handed down. In January, 1926, the Senate voted 76 to 17 its approval of adherence with the following "reservations":

"1. That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the treaty of Versailles.

"2. That the United States shall be permitted

to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other states, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice or for the filling of vacancies.

"3. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

"4. That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said protocol and that the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

"5. That the court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the court and to all interested States and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any State concerned, nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

"The signature of the United States to the said protocol shall not be affixed until the powers signa-

tory to such protocol shall have indicated, through an exchange of notes, their acceptance of the foregoing reservations and understandings as a part and a condition of adherence by the United States to the said protocol.

"Resolved further, As a part of this act of ratification that the United States approve the protocol and Statute hereinabove mentioned, with the understanding that recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the settlement of differences between the United States and any other State or States can be had only by agreement thereto through general or special treaties concluded between the parties in dispute; and

"Resolved further, That adherence to the said protocol and Statute hereby approved shall not be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall adherence to the said protocol and Statute be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

This was done after the national conventions of the Republican Party in power had repeatedly made such a court a part of their platforms, and Presi-

dents Harding and Coolidge had sent urgent messages to the Senate urging its adoption. The famous Reservation No. 5 has been the stumbling block. None of the member nations have indicated a willingness to accept this condition. The years go by. But public opinion is again making its demand. United States Senator Gillette, of Massachusetts, introduced this significant resolution in February, 1928.

"Whereas the Senate on January 27, 1926, by a vote of seventy-six to seventeen gave its advice and consent to the adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, upon certain conditions and with certain reservations; and

"Whereas, the signatory States in transmitting their replies referred to 'such further exchange of views as the Government of the United States may think useful': Therefore be it Resolved, That the Senate of the United States respectfully suggests to the President the advisability of a further exchange of views with the signatory States in order to establish whether the differences between the United States and the signatory States can be satisfactorily adjusted."

While this resolution is still pending, one of the final acts of the Administration of President Coolidge was to instruct Secretary of State Kellogg to

make such an exchange of notes for the purpose indicated. This correspondence is going forward, while this is being written. The irresistible tide is having its effect, and some day by some method the United States and every other State worth being so named will adhere to this Universal Court, share in its responsibilities and honour its decisions.[1]

I pass, however, to some steps which may yet be taken in the legislative field which may or may not be in the purview of the experts. As a matter of fact, I fear that these men, whose type has been the background of this discussion of the judicial method of abolishing war, would find many technical questions of constitutionality and all its subdivisions which would have to be studied before they would assent to the proposals which are to follow. But there is a realm yet more significant, more compelling, more drastic which some day must be entered. It is to take away every vestige of temptation to talk war which the legislatures must yet deal with.

In the first place, I should like to see an international law passed which would make it illegal, in the event of another war, for any man under thirty to be conscripted or permitted to enter the field service. If there is to be another war, by all the

[1] A history of the International Court of Justice can be secured through the American Foundation, 565 Fifth Ave., New York City.

laws of progress with which we are familiar, only men from forty to sixty ought to be the active participants.

It is quite obvious that to some this will seem fantastic. It is so revolutionary that it arouses suspicion of absurdity. But the day will come, if war should persist, when this will be the law. By the new methods of warfare, valour plays no part, youth is not required. All that is needed at the present time is simply mass annihilation by modern methods. There are no poems to be written, no songs to be composed of the long day's march and "Tenting on the old camp ground." That is all gone. An old man of sixty can pour out poison gas just as effectively as a boy of eighteen. No armies march anywhere now.

I remember some years ago one man did object when a statement of this kind was made and said that "older men could not endure the marches." One reply was sufficient to defeat his argument, namely, "Henry Ford has abolished enforced marches with armies." If another war is to be undertaken, why should the agents of conscription go through all the nations and all the cities and towns and villages and cut out the very finest physical specimens and thrust them into the slaughter? In the last great war nearly eleven millions of the flower of humanity were slaughtered. Of these

young men not one had an impaired muscle; not one had a dimmed eye; not one was anæmic. They were strong in eyesight, in lung, in limb and courage. The cowards will always find a hole to crawl into. The brave get killed. Apply this to our own country and the lesson is clear. The health examiners of the War Department report that of all those who were conscripted about twenty per cent were rejected as physically unfit. They were sent back home to breed, while the perfect specimens were sent to untimely deaths.

The last war was a hemorrhage of the most virile blood in the world. I wonder what prophet could possibly tell what those eleven million young men might have done for the world if they could have lived. Who can tell how many Coués, how many Pasteurs, how many Einsteins, how many Edisons went down in the cataclysm. Let the nations accept the scientific facts of modern warfare, as well as the scientific facts of human progress, and if they must have war, send the old to the front, preserve the youth for the generations that are yet to be.

In the second place, there ought to be an international law passed which would make it necessary for every man and woman in the world to make a sworn statement of his or her wealth upon the date when the war is declared and then have the law provide that no man or woman anywhere should

come out of the war with anything more than normal profits.

The most seething, blighting curse of 1914 to 1918, and for the years which have followed, has not been death, disease and pestilence, or the suffering of those listed in the casualties, but that visited upon the human race during and since the war by profiteering. These men and women who pilfered benevolent funds, who charged exorbitant prices for food, clothing, etc., which was to feed the starving and clothe the naked, who wrested fortunes out of the production of death-dealing gases and high-powered explosives, became brutes in the process. They had to stifle every noble impulse. They are brutes in society now; they are the nation's debauchers. No small part of the cause of war is the hold-over of the predatory theory of economics. Every man who held this philosophy in whatever part of the world he found himself in 1914, regarded the outbreak of hostilities as a fertile opportunity for hoarding wealth. About one-third of all the war urge would disappear if a law of this kind were passed. Certainly societies and nations ought to make some provision by which the temptation to thrust the world into war for economic gain can be eliminated. Take economic profit out of war and the voice of many a brutal glorifier of the war game will be silenced. TAKE MONEY OUT OF WAR.

In the third place, there ought to be an international law passed which would make it obligatory upon any nation where war is being threatened to call for a referendum before any final declaration is made. No worthier resolution has been introduced in many months in Congress than the one upon January 10, 1929, by Captain Hamilton Fish Jr., of New York State, which reads as follows:

"The Congress shall have power to declare war; but war, except in defense of the United States shall not be waged by the United States until a declaration of war by the Congress shall have been ratified by a majority of the qualified electors of the several States, in the manner provided for by the laws of each State in choosing representatives in the Congress, at a time which the President shall fix immediately following such declaration."

The author is familiar with about every argument that has been made against the idea of these referenda, but after recognizing the force which does inhere in some of them, they are so completely outbalanced by the values of the plan that they do not seem to be worthy of permanent consideration. As a matter of fact, if this provision was international in character, every argument which has been brought forward would disappear. The penalties

imposed upon the people are so terrible that if the politicians mean what they say about democracy, the people themselves have a right to speak their mind upon whether the issue is serious enough to call for hostilities upon the battlefield. It is fair to say that if such a law could be enacted by international agreement, declarations of war would pass out of the picture, except as they would be studied in history as the record of an ancient custom when Kings, Czars, Emperors, Dictators and Presidents ruled without consideration of the people. The very cooling off in the process of the referendum would dissolve the issues before the votes could be counted and reported. Perhaps it would not be acceptable to a very large element in the population of the nations everywhere, but it might not be an unwise thing, not only to have these referenda when war passions are running high, but to provide that women only should vote. Personally, I have come to believe that when the war topic is under discussion large areas of the male population are ineligible for unbiased considered judgment. But in any event let the voice of the people be heard before war is declared.

In the fourth place, there ought to be an international law passed that in the event of war no geography anywhere should change as a part of defeat or victory. The war system has found an

almost unfailing ally in the fact that the so-called treaties or agreements or settlements which have followed war from the days of Alexander down through the Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns, the Napoleons and to Versailles, 1919, have left by the injustice of their geographical arrangements the almost certain seeds of the next war. The world still struggles under the old philosophy that national expansion and greatness can be best attained by going to war. Many militarists still believe the only way for a nation to be greater is to climb up by trampling down some enemy and wresting new territory from the vanquished. Alsace-Lorraine, with its wealth of minerals, has formed the occasion for more than thirty wars, and by the same unchanged logic may furnish more outbreaks.

As one considers the recurrence of war, in nearly every instance, underneath there is the ancient grudge of an unjust geographical reallocation of people demanded by the passions of the conqueror in some earlier conflict. If the men who were in the Hall of Versailles in 1919, who signed the treaty with its impossible new boundary lines, had taken time to meditate upon the past, they might then have known that they had left dynamite enough in that one question to blow up their whole treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations as well.

War will very nearly have passed from the scene

of human action without any League, without any court, without any treaty, if the nations will agree that added territory shall not be a part of the glories of the victor. Take geography out of war, and it has lost much of its romance.

But whatever agreements or disagreements there may be in the content of this discussion, the advocates of world peace must bring their constant influence to bear upon the development of legal substitutes for those frail instruments which in the past have crumpled up under the strain of bitter strife. It is hypocrisy to shout against war or to condemn public officials except as every energy is being directed to establishing adequate legal machinery which alone furnishes the final pathway to continued peace.

V. WHAT AMERICA CAN DO

AMERICA is so placed that it has the power to turn the scales. Its abstention, leaving other weights without a counterpoise, is almost as operative for good or ill as its intervention. Without its co-operation, no international arrangements for peace can be adequate now or for years to come. No sure control of the dangerous agencies can exist. The League of Nations today is powerless as regards Asia and the two Americas. Yet these are the largest part of the earth. The fate of Peace depends upon the United States."

This statement in an editorial by J. N. Garvin of the *London Observer* may be accepted as common to men of his type throughout the world.

In an interview in 1927, which the author had with one of Europe's most widely known statesmen, when the latter was asked to give a view of what seemed to be the real trend either for war or for peace throughout the world, he thought for a moment and then replied, "Go learn what your country really expects to do about it, tell me that, and I will answer your question."

No informed man in any part speaks much of the

"AND THAT MEANS YOU TOO, SAM"

—*Reproduced by courtesy of the New York World*

future for a good will-dominated internationalism without coming to the question "America—What?"

Every plan, treaty, court or league whether dealing with debts, reparations, tariffs or boundaries must reckon with America. No more final illustration of this can be given than in the recent invitation which was extended by the European powers to Owen D. Young and J. P. Morgan to represent the United States in the 1929 Commission upon Reparations. One English paper in answering a sarcastic editorial in a Continental journal which said in substance "Leave the United States out. We do not want her interference," replied, "Very nice theory, but a joke. The United States is *in* now." Able men felt that America was necessary to the success of that commission's work. Every conference, committee or commission which proposes an international task is at once confronted with the problem of what to do with America. Decisions arrived at or plans adopted have something lacking in their final value unless America has assented or become a participant.

The utter absurdity of an attempt upon the part of the United States to evade straight out official participation in world affairs was never more eloquently set forth than in the following quotation from President Hoover when commenting upon the relationships of the United States to the work of

the Reparations Commission of 1929, of which the Hon. Owen D. Young, was the Chairman. He said, "I have a question as to whether the Administration would submit the Young Reparations agreement to Congress or not or whether we become a signatory to it. Our Government is not a party to that agreement and therefore it would not be a signatory to it." All who know President Hoover are fully aware that this does not express his desire. It is not an intimation of his mental attitudes. He simply states a fact which is so baffling, so contradictory, that all the world must be at sea about the future of the United States in such negotiations. Here a great conference was held. The peace of the world was involved. Again and again it was reported through the newspapers that the sessions would close without agreement, and prophecies were widely made that in such an event war would be the next step, but the American delegation, led by that master diplomat, Mr. Young, faithfully and persistently held on. Finally they secured a unanimous agreement and the cloud lifted and hope again returned.

Leading newspapers, European as well as American, Oriental and Occidental, vied with each other in giving praise to Mr. Young, and yet when it is all over we are reminded by the President of the

United States that we were not a party to that agreement.

One of the reasons, it may be assumed, why so many men in many parts of the world are asking about what America is going to do and what is to be America's attitude upon this question and that, and are saying almost without exception that there is no such thing as abiding, enduring, universal peace without the full co-operation of America, is because of the unparalleled power of the United States. If we are asked for just one word to describe America now, the most apt word to use would be "POWER, POWER, POWER." You can spell America with this word. It has become commonplace throughout all the nations where one travels.

This power is illustrated in the morale of the American people. Those familiar with the facts are reminded of how much value was placed upon morale in the army during the Great War. Entertainment halls were built, recreation centres were arranged, clever entertainers were sent through the camps. The finest song and cheer leaders were enlisted. Everything imaginable was done to keep the morale high, for those in command knew full well that the most exact discipline would not get the best results if the spirit of the men in the ranks was low. "Cheer them up! Buck them up!" was an expression the writer heard many times as he

went through the camps of the whole country as well as those on the battle fronts of France. If this quality called morale is powerful in the army, then it means a great asset to American life now. The morale of our people is high.

Some time ago a distinguished European who had been spending some time in the United States was leaving for the Old World and home. In the farewells it was observed that momentarily he was almost overcome with emotion, but quickly he reasserted himself and in saying good-bye made this comment: "The thing I shall remember longest of my trip in the United States is the glad, happy look in the faces of the people I have met. But oh, what a contrast with the people I will be seeing eight days from now." He had observed the high morale of the average American life. He knew all too well the low morale, the broken morale, of such vast numbers on the continent of Europe. There are no stooped shoulders of fatigue in America. There is power in our expectations. The expectations of the people of the United States were never at a higher point than now. There is no cloud the size of a man's hand anywhere to be observed on the horizon as this nation looks out upon the tomorrows of history.

Recently an Australian by the name of Professor James, of the University of New South Wales,

Sydney, spent eighteen months in this country and then wrote an article in which he said that there was area enough, soil enough, productivity enough, in the United States to care for seven hundred and two millions in population in comfort. That cannot be said of any other country north of the equator and probably of only one south of the equator. Germany is overcrowded. France is overcrowded. Italy is overcrowded. Japan is overcrowded. China is overcrowded. India is overcrowded. The British Isles are overcrowded. These facts have something to do with the history of the last war. They may have a great deal to do with the next war, if there is to be one.

While this over-populated condition presents a serious question to many of the nations of the world, America stands with her face to the rising sun with a smile on her countenance bidding six hundred millions more to come if they are the right kind.

There is power in our wealth. It is said that only a few weeks ago, as historians count time, an Indian traded the Island of Manhattan to a white man for a jug of whisky. I do not think this deed of transaction was recorded with the clerk of the court, and it may be a mere story, but it may be an historic fact. But a little later, when John Cabot had explored the New England coast and went back to the Court of St. James's with his charts and dia-

grams, the British Government paid him twenty pounds (one hundred dollars) for a quit claim deed to all of New England.

In 1865 it is reported that President Grant asked Congress to pass a resolution announcing to the world that it was the purpose of the United States of America to pay her debts and it is also recorded that one member of Congress, speaking against this resolution, said it was a well-known fact that the United States was a bankrupt nation and that we could not pay our so-called debts in a hundred years and that it was a farce to talk about it. All of these are incidents not very far away. But in 1913 we were worth one hundred seventy-one billion dollars; in 1920 we were worth three hundred twenty billion dollars; in 1927 we were worth four hundred twenty billion dollars, and the count is still going up.

Stuart Chase, one of the best economists of this generation, says that not in the history of the world has any other one hundred ten million people held wealth comparable to these figures, and now, for weal or woe, for good or bad, for peace or war, we hold a kind of mortgage for twenty-five billion dollars on certain of the greatest interests in the European nations and claim a war debt of something like seven billion dollars more. Ivy Lee in his article "The Black Legend," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1929, says the loans and investments of United

States capital in foreign countries, principally in Europe, amount to twenty-five billion dollars.

There is power in our traditions. The traditions of American history are good. They are not perfect. There is much to be desired; but as history goes, there is no skeleton in the closet that makes America afraid of the flashlight.

These incidents are not referred to as a matter of developing more conceit. God forbid. Quite the contrary is the hope of the writer. The struggling nations of the world less favourably situated are looking on and asking with deep anxiety, "What will that giant do with this power?"

It is a well-recorded principle that power either ennobles or debauches. Nations after all are just vast combinations of individuals and those laws which affect individuals reflect themselves in the nations.

The writer is thinking now of two men. One starts his boyhood as the son of a Southern Baptist minister in a remote country town, a large family, restricted economic resources. The income of the family so scant that the mere comforts of life have to be dispensed with. One son, realizing this economic necessity, pushes his way out into the world. He struggles against all kinds of adversity; calamities overtake his pathway. Nothing daunted, however, he presses on until one day in a little Wyoming

village his footsteps find the affluent pathway. The tides turn. The change is rapid. Millions, millions, millions of dollars of wealth turn his way. The whole history of this man is such a romance that some of the magazines and newspapers feel called upon to write it up every few months. Close and intimate personal observation of the effect of this undreamed economic power on his life gives evidence that every increase has made him a humbler, nobler, grander man. Power has breathed into his very life a yearning to serve God and humanity, his country, and the world. Power ennobled that man.

Another of familiar knowledge starts under almost the same circumstances, his struggles with adversity and poverty were not unlike the first, and in common with the other man, he, too, at about the same time, finds the affluent way of life. The change is rapid. Millions, millions; millions, turn his way. But the effect of power in the hands of this man is exactly the opposite to the one referred to. He debauches statesmen, he bribes public officials, he attempts to buy up courts. The passions aroused in him with this power are such that he wouldn't blush for the furtherance of his selfish interests to wreck and despoil the nation. He became so drunk with this sense of economic power that society placed him for a time behind prison walls

to restrain his destructive influence upon the country. Power did this to him.

One of the biggest questions confronting the world today concerns the possible effect of this sudden power with which America finds herself entrusted. Will it ennoble her people? Will it make them humble? Will it give them a deep longing for service to all mankind? Or, will it make her arrogant, domineering, bullying? Will it lead her with metallic coldness to demand the utmost farthing of those less favoured in the world?

Two voices are calling the nation. One calls from the lowlands of the swamps of greed, envy and strife. The other calls from the hilltops of wide vision and of service. By the response, we may spell in large measure the weal or the woe, the rise or the fall of humanity.

Before going on to emphasize that larger field of world co-operation which is not only the duty of the United States, but infinitely more her high privilege, full earnest recognition must be given to the genuine desire and purpose of the American people to meet their obligations and to share in the universal effort not only to preserve peace but to assist in every noble undertaking for human welfare. There has been far too large a tendency to talk of world peace as the supreme goal of human activities and at the same time to criticize the United

States as though she were the chief of sinners. The recorded facts of recent years do not bear out the accusation.

An eminent American, speaking before a thousand people not long ago, referred in trenchant terms to the isolation and aloofness of the United States from the rest of the world, to the great detriment of international peace.

We have not at any time been isolated or indifferent to world affairs since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Whatever may have been the impression of certain legislative attitudes, of failure to adopt measures which have been proposed for official participation in organizations, to picture America as "selfish," "indifferent" or "isolated" is a gross injustice, and does not add to the general welfare of international understandings.

We were not isolated and aloof when, according to the reports of President Hoover, we saved the people of certain areas of Europe three times from starving.

We were not isolated and aloof when the Dawes Commission was established in order to settle at that time the vexed question of reparations which puzzled and perplexed Europe for so long.

We were not isolated and aloof when we called the Washington Conference on Limitation of Naval

Armaments and scrapped one hundred seventy-five million dollars' worth of fighting ships.

We were not isolated and aloof when for five years we refused to build up our Navy in the auxiliary categories while other nations were busy at it.

We were not isolated and aloof when we forgave the European nations seven billion dollars' worth of debt.

We were not isolated and aloof when President Coolidge called the Geneva Naval Conference in 1927.

We were not isolated and aloof when we consented to serve on over forty committees set up by the League of Nations and are now doing effective work on most of those commissions.

We were not isolated or aloof when Ambassador Hugh Gibson made his appeal to the Reduction of Armaments Commission at Geneva in April, 1929, and offered in behalf of his Government to accept any percentage of reduction of naval armaments.

Nothing perhaps will illustrate more forcibly the point the author wishes to make than a quotation from an article in the English *Review of Reviews* by the editor, Henry Wickham Steed. In writing of the spirit and magnitude of the assistance given to the Allies by the United States during those critical periods of the war, he says:

"Meanwhile, an unimpeachable French witness, M. André Tardieu, who was the High Commissioner of France at Washington in 1917, has given, in his book 'France and America,' some inkling of the strain that was put upon American resources by one of the Allies at the moment when the United States was endeavouring to build up its own army upon an unprecedented scale. Here is a list extending over three weeks:

"May 27 (1917), from Food Ministry. 'The cereal supply is threatened. Rush shipments as quickly as possible.'

"May 28, from Ministry of Munitions. 'Send 1,000 lorries, urgent.'

"May 29, from Transport Ministry. 'Indispensable secure immediately 30,000 tons shipping for food supply devastated regions.'

"June 3, from Ministry of Munitions. 'Increase shipments copper to 10,000 tons monthly.'

"June 5, from Ministry of Agriculture. 'Send all haste 400 reaper binders.'

"June 6, from Ministry of Marine. 'Send 12,000 tons gasoline for merchant marine and 24,000 tons for navy.'

"June 11, from Ministry of Munitions. 'Increase shipments nitrate to 46,000 tons monthly instead of 15,000. Vital for national defence. You must arrange for this in addition to programme.'

"June 13, from Ministry of Munitions. 'Send 2,000 tons of lead monthly.'

"June 16, from Ministry of Munitions. 'Send 6,500 small trucks.'

"June 16, from Food Ministry. 'Arrange for 80,000 tons of wheat in excess of programme. Most serious situation ever. Any failure or delay may prove dangerous.'

"Not only was it necessary to provide these supplies—and corresponding supplies for the British Armies—but also to pay for them with American money, that is to say, with funds lent by the American Treasury for the purpose. And the demand went on, in varying degrees of intensity until the end of the war."

There has been far too much vitriol poured on the United States regarding her stand on international affairs. We should give praise where it is due and use what we have done as a standard for future endeavour, and there is every reason why America now, in her strength, should do more for peace than ever before.

We are not a selfish people. At any hour when an alarm is sounded, when some great catastrophe is threatening human lives, such as a famine, an earthquake, an epidemic of some destructive disease, the people of America have not been classified as

"selfish." Every worthy philanthropy, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or upon the Western Hemisphere, is at once presented to American generosity. A short while ago I sat at a luncheon table in Europe with a company of distinguished men and women, and the United States became the topic of conversation. Some of the "peculiarities" were discussed. But presently a Scotchman of intimate acquaintance throughout the world said, "We on this side of the Atlantic stand aghast at the magnitude of the gifts for philanthropic, benevolent and religious purposes by the American people."

In April, 1929, while in London, I had the privilege of hearing Miss Maud Royden in an address in which she pleaded for good friendship between Britain and America. Among other gracious comments, she said: "America is not selfish; she has poured out rivers of gold to help the destitute in every part of the world."

The nation is not "isolated." It is not "selfish," neither is it made up of a lot of uncultured, crude money grabbers. It is said by high authority that the percentage of students in colleges and universities is the highest in the world. The schools and colleges are crowded to their capacity.

Severe criticism is often voiced in European papers because the Americans are so anxious to buy the finest masterpieces of art and have them sent

over to the home galleries. The following Associated Press despatch which was cabled from Paris to New York January 9, 1929, has rather a definite indication of the growing love for music in the country:

"RACHMANINOFF SAYS AMERICA LEADS THE WORLD IN MUSIC

"Paris (AP).—Serge Rachmaninoff told his Paris interviewer that New York had become the musical capital of the world. American concert audiences, he said, were bigger and more appreciative of good music than those of any other country.

" 'Year by year the thing that impresses me more and more about America,' the pianist said, 'is the wonderful improvement in public taste and appreciation that has taken place within an astonishingly short period of time. When I first went to America in 1909 audiences were not one-tenth as large or as discriminating as they are now.'

" 'New York has replaced Berlin as the bright particular heart of music,' Rachmaninoff added, 'and Philadelphia possesses one of the greatest orchestras the world has ever heard.' "

I chanced to be in London in the early summer of 1929 and went to hear the American baritone, Paul Robeson, in a recital of negro spirituals. Albert Hall was packed to its capacity. The audience

went wild in applause. They seemed to put high value upon American music.

The next week I was in Paris. I had to pay $6.00 for a seat in the Opera to hear Yehudi, the fourteen-year-old American violinist. The great auditorium was sold out to standing room capacity. He played three concertos, one by Brahms, one by Bach and one by Beethoven. The scene at the close was indescribable. Pandemonium broke loose. He was recalled twenty times. The great director, Loubert, threw his arms around this youth from the United States and kissed him upon each cheek.

France seemed to realize that night that we are producing something besides dollars.

Neither can it be said justly that America is "militaristic." "America is now the most militaristic nation in the world." This line in an editorial in a prominent American journal is utterly false to facts. The 5-5-3 naval ratio agreed upon by the Washington Conference has never been approached by the United States.

In standing army we have one soldier to each 900 of our population. The continent of Europe is maintaining one soldier to each 300 of its people. The American people have a holy horror of militarism. They resent any tendency which would lead to a big army and a big navy. They know that means war.

These comments are not advanced as an apology for the sins of omission of which there are enough. Later mention will give abundant evidence of this. Neither are they enumerated to add one more chapter to the temptation to bragging which the Americans are heir to. They are included in the interests of fair play, common justice and accuracy. They are important as a corrective to that cynical attitude of indicting America which has been so much in vogue in the home country and has had its unfavourable results in other nations.

Abusing the United States has been the favourite pastime of a type of person who professed to hold superior love for universal peace and an exalted wisdom about international affairs. The method is a strategic blunder, the inferences are unfounded. I am persuaded that these tirades upon the motives of the American people have not advanced the cause of international good will. They have not hastened the larger co-operation of the United States in the various peace movements. They have not made a favourable impression upon the more thoughtful people of other nations. But they have been a welcome ally to the extreme American isolationists, the mad nationalists and the militarists, who believe in war. They have furnished all of these with a plausible scare argument.

With this background of just recognition of the

real spirit of the vast majority of the people of the United States, it is equally important to give strong emphasis to the seriousness of this responsibility of the nation to meet in full measure the obligations for world service through co-operation. If under the sinister influence of selfish, narrow-minded, bigoted nationalists, this favoured country should fail in her part in this universal struggle for concord and amity among the nations, it would be the saddest page in human history. If American participation is "indispensable to success" and that service should in any vital measure be withheld, the consequences would be appalling and might easily justify this statement.

Fair-minded men are quite agreed that we have not accepted as heartily and thoroughly as we ought these co-operative relationships. Regrets are heard that a larger measure of the official responsibility has not been accepted.

Fair-minded men also realize that we are tempted in peculiar ways to hold aloof. The horrors of the last great war were not brought close to our door. The slaughter, the devastation, the human woe for the larger part was three thousand miles away. Some of our families knew and know its full bitterness, but they are comparatively few. America indulged her emotions in watching the noble "brave soldiers" march down our Fifth Avenue and away

for "over there" singing "Pack up your troubles in your Old Kit Bag, and Smile, Smile, Smile." We welcomed nearly all of them back as they swept through the "Triumphal Arch" in a maturer rhythm, glorious victors. Some in their ignorance shouted *"America Won the War."* Taken as a whole it was one immense exuberant baptism of ecstasy. The shrieks of agony, the ghastly hideous hell of it was not heard in America. The nation to enter last, to serve for the shortest period, got rich in dollars. This remoteness to human penalties and this economic advantage form the basis for a terrible temptation to look with indifference upon the duty to help heal the wounds, build again the broken places and save the future from more and worse catastrophes.

The insidious influence of the "isolationists" must not be overlooked. There are cold, bald, avowed isolationists in America. They are not strong numerically, but they do exist, and some are not without social, political and economic prestige. In a parlour of historic influence, an American of wide acquaintance and contacts when commenting upon international affairs with special reference to the rumblings of discontent in certain parts of Europe, said, *"We got out of that mess mighty lucky. Now let them fry in their own fat. We don't care a damn what happens now."* His manner was cold,

his voice was metallic, his philosophy that of a brute. Unfortunately America has a cult who adhere to this doctrine. They are to be reckoned with. They are dangerous to the nobler life of the United States and the welfare of humanity.

Much has been accomplished for better international relationships since 1918. America has helped to a considerable degree, but far from that more complete manner which might have been. Much more is to be done in the years that are yet to be. America must enter in an ever-increasing measure into co-operation with all of those constructive agencies which are being developed. "Isolation," "Aloofness," are impossible and wicked. Nothing more concrete or conclusive upon this point could be said than to quote a portion of the address of United States Senator Capper, which he delivered in the Senate when he presented the resolution which is quoted in the chapter upon "The Growth of a New Idea." He said:

"I propose by this joint resolution to test the sincerity of our professions that America desires world peace. We have talked much about the desirability of peace, but have done little to advance the cause which the people have so much at heart. Nothing further is to be gained by repeating pious platitudes, by uttering high-sounding moral generali-

ties or by professing to be devoted to international peace and opposed to war. More than ten years after the United States was dragged through circumstances into the most dreadful conflict in human history, half the world is still suffering acutely from the effects of that futile struggle of armed forces. It left bankrupt every European nation that took part in it. It cost nearly ten million young lives. Is it not time that the United States as the world's most powerful, secure and pacific nation should follow words with acts?

"Our whole history and our best traditions summon us to participate in this effort—or lead it. Geographically the United States in its early history was almost isolated from the world. This isolation has ended. Now we are knit politically and economically by the closest ties with the world. The tremendous progress of science and invention has virtually abolished our geographical isolation. For generations we were the principal debtor nation. Now we have become the principal creditor nation. But whether debtor or creditor we are part of the world's political and economic organization and we cannot for a single day escape the responsibilities, obligations and dangers this relationship confers. The duty that rests upon us is to make the fullest use of our great power in the family of nations to promote understanding and peace. No one can

make a friend of a neighbour, or reason with him by arousing his combativeness. It was that spirit which led Europe, where much rivalry exists, into the greatest war of all time."

Whatever may have been the desirability of aloofness from other nations twenty-five, fifty and one hundred years ago, it has been made an utter impossibility by the new scientific methods of transportation and communication. It would be like carrying coal to Newcastle to dwell upon incidents of modern invention which have become so obvious that the boys and girls of the grammar schools have no sense of wonder or astonishment in their use. Older folks may still ponder and stand in awe as they contrast "the good old days" with the new. Colonel Lindbergh made Paris a next door neighbour to New York in one night's adventure. Marconi and Edison and their school have made it possible to visit with and see your friends in India face to face in sixty seconds after you "put the call in." But no prophet dares to speak out loud of what will be twenty-five, fifty and one hundred years hence. Distance, space, obstructions of sea and mountains dissolve in the laboratories of the scientist. Millikan, Pupin, Einstein and Steinmetz have drawn the people of the world to one fireside. The man who talks about "isolation" for his country, wherever or

whatever it be, has an interrupted mentality. He has failed to orient his intellectual processes to the twentieth century. United States Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, brought this scientific fact up to date in an utterance in the Senate when the adherence to the International Court of Justice was under debate, with this terse sentence, "The time has fully come when if one part of the world gets sick, all of the world gets sick."

There is no smug security for any race or state now. The world is fast becoming one common unit.

Aloofness is not only an impossibility in the presence of the onward march of science, but equally so in the urge of economic necessities. Foreign loans and investments are increasing at the rate of about one billion dollars with each twelve months. The total is about twenty-five billion dollars now quite apart from the baffling issues of war debts. Any outbreak of war in any part of the world would involve the United States under one of the familiar arguments of the isolationists themselves, viz., "The protection of American property." The same men who cry "Beware of entangling alliances" loudest would be first to demand "intervention" if the validity of foreign loans were endangered. Not only are we thus entangled in foreign economic stability, but also in our domestic, commercial and industrial welfare. This aspect has been so com-

pletely set forth in that remarkable book *Dependent America* by Hon. William C. Redfield, that it might well be made a required study in all the schools, colleges and universities. He says of the following:

TIN: We use fifty per cent of the entire tin manufactured in the world; we produce none.

RUBBER: We consume from seventy to eighty per cent of all the rubber grown in the world; we do not produce a pound upon our own territory.

NICKEL: We are the greatest manufacturers of nickel, but we do not mine any of the ore. It is all imported.

LEATHER: In a recent year the leather industry of America used 101,000,000 pelts; of these sixty-two per cent were imported from thirty-one different nations. There is not one pair of "100% American leather" shoes in the whole United States.

STEEL: We manufacture over fifty per cent of all the steel used in the entire world. About thirty nations are co-operating to furnish the essential ingredients. Without their products the steel industry would close up.

HATS AND CLOTHING: We don't have products enough to manufacture one-half of the hats and clothing for our own population. If we were not entangled with other nations fifty per cent of our people would go bareheaded and naked.

SILK: We use sixty per cent of the world's supply; we do not produce a yard.

PAPER: If left to our own supply of paper there would not be a tree or a stump left in the entire country in twenty years.

These are only a few illustrations out of about 350 products which we are importing annually and which are indispensable for our comfort and our economic security.

Coffee, tea, sugar, cheese, beans, tobacco, drugs, butter, eggs, chocolate, fruits, meats, spices, nuts, and soap are among the list of those necessities of which we import from thirty-five to eighty per cent in order to meet home consumption.

There is no mystery about the new anxieties about American relationships to the South American Republics. Men who are able to bring their thinking up to date are aware that no dogmatic statement of a political theory of the United States will be accepted by these Republics forever, but also they are aware of the new economic development which demands a better relationship. Twenty-five years ago the total investments of the United States amounted to a scant $300,000,000. Now these investments amount to over $5,000,000,000 and are increasing daily. President Hoover went upon no more sentimental pilgrimage when he toured South America.

He was exercising that traditional far vision for which he has become so well and favourably known. The pressure for co-operation with these Republics based upon trade relations was involved.

Whether we will share in a political League of Nations or not, we have joined the economic League of the World and must either participate or perish. If we were completely disentangled from the rest of the nations, were literally isolated, commercial chaos, bankruptcy and food shortage would sweep over the whole people in twenty-four months' time. The compelling power of economics, the laws of supply and demand and the issues of the balance of trade exterminate isolation.

It is an old axiom that when any state or dynasty fails to live for some ideal higher than its own preservation or prosperity it begins to decay. Most so-called rules or principles of life and conduct must be elastic enough to admit of the reasonable "exceptions." But this one is so sound that thus far in history the exception to this rule has not been discovered. Science has proclaimed no more profound theses than those found in the Bible—"Whosoever loseth his life shall find it. Whosoever saveth his life shall lose it." "There is that withholdeth more than is meet which tendeth to poverty. There is that scattereth abroad which tendeth to increase."

These are inexorable, unchangeable laws. Selfishness is only another name for suicide.

It is interesting to hear the probability of another war being discussed. Usually in addition to certain political policies and geographical complications, some names are suggested as representing dangerous personalities. Mussolini, Kemal Pasha, Stalin, William II, Pilsudsky and Horthy may be cited. These may or may not be dangerous men. But one man is a menace, he is dangerous in the degree in which he may have influence. He is the blustering, cynical, loud-speaking American who slurs other nations as a part of his speech of glorifying his own. He advocates "isolation." He is the apostle of the theory that the United States is entirely sufficient to herself and can let the rest of world "go to hell." This man if uncorrected and unrestrained might precipitate war, but even if that did not result from his propaganda he would bring disaster upon his own country if he could secure following enough. He usually introduces himself as a "hundred per cent American." Fortunately his position is so absurd that thoughtful people do not follow him.

Leaving apart all these considerations of duty and honour as evidenced by our responsibility for the past war measures, reconstruction and security, America must participate fully with all the races and nations for the consummation of those nobler

hopes of enduring peace so much desired. THIS SHE MUST DO TO SAVE HER OWN SOUL. The world needs America's vital co-operation as a deterring factor for the cause. America must share fully for the value of the reaction upon her own life. In his inaugural address of March 4, 1925, President Coolidge said:

"We cannot permit ourselves to be narrowed and dwarfed by slogans and phrases. It is not the adjective but the substantive which is of real importance. It is not the name of the action, but the result of the action, which is the chief concern. It will be well not to be too much disturbed by the thought of either isolation or entanglement of pacifists and militarists. The physical configuration of the earth has separated us from all the Old World, but the common brotherhood of man, the highest law of all our being, has united us by inseparable bonds with all humanity."

There are those who speak of America as a possible positive "menace" to the peace of the world. A reference already made is evidence that the author is not in sympathy with those extreme criticisms, and does not believe in them as facts, nor holds them in high esteem as being good strategy. But certain implications must not be overlooked. In

one of Frank H. Simonds's illuminating articles in the American *Review of Reviews* this paragraph appears:

"I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that European opinion is rapidly crystallizing in the conviction that to all countries collectively, the United States is a danger and a menace. That consciousness has come quite recently."

In Dr. Ivy Lee's article "The Black Legend" in the *Atlantic Monthly* of May, 1929, the following intense paragraph appears:

"The peoples of Europe counted upon us, as the clear-eyed and confident architects of a New World, to help them replace the European system with something nearer their hearts' desire. To-day these hopes and expectations are replaced by a complex of suspicion, misunderstanding, and fear."

Both of these writers go on to give several reasons for this growing suspicion. They may be summed up, however, in the feeling that we are deliberately planning an economic autocracy, which it is believed will control the commerce of the world. There are those who would welcome such an antagonism upon the part of the European states. They would regard such a situation as the forerun-

ner of a war in which we might be gloriously victorious. But no peace man or friend of good will among the nations will share that view. For those larger interests of permanent peace this fear or suspicion ought to be removed, while it remains it must retard every activity for the cause of world amity. No printed declaration from whatever source it might emanate will entirely remedy this unfortunate feeling. Deeds, Actions, Performances are the answer. Let us go forward with obvious sincerity into the greater field of *co-operation* with all the states for the common good of all, and this ominous suspicion will dissolve.

No attempt is made here to describe all of the technique which may be involved in this co-operation. But a résumé may not be altogether without value.

America must make her contribution to those international societies working for world peace. She has a great responsibility in the sentiment-making crusade.

America must participate actively in the special conferences which may be convened to meet emergencies as they may arise.

America must contribute generously of her wealth for the sustenance of peace movements, educational, inspirational and research.

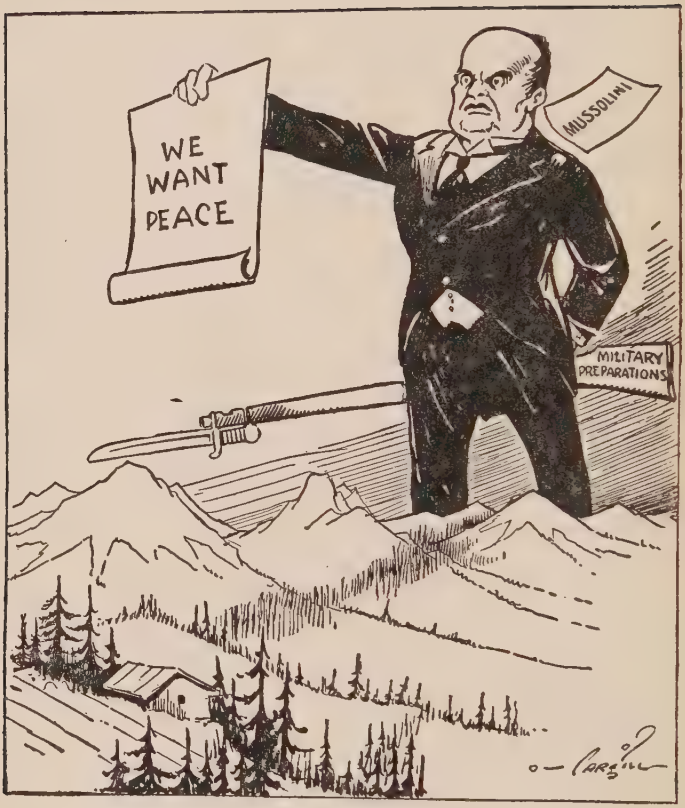
America must become officially related to peace

treaties and pacts, arbitration tribunals, courts, leagues and commissions. All the arguments for human welfare, the protection of civilization, the hopes of a warless world, and the preservation of a noble domestic life call for the abundant and efficient affiliation of the United States in world affairs.

In summing up, and in grateful recognition of the many enlarging avenues through which the United States is participating in voluntary semi-official and official ways with the other powers for international good will and human welfare, this theory of political isolation must be met. The United States is being drawn into the swift rapids of international politics. There is no escape. There may be dangerous delays. But, the pressure of the practical situations of a new world unity, of a steadily interlocking economic order, of an increasing moral obligation and opportunity, foretells the doom of isolation for America or any other intelligent people. The highest good of all pleads for an early, full co-operation to supplant the delusions of aloofness.

"O beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam,
Undimmed by human tears!

America! America!
God shed his grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!"



BEYOND THE ALPS LIES ITALY

—Courtesy of Central Press Association

VI. DANGER ZONES—PART I

IT IS important for the ultimate triumph of the great cause of international friendship and good will, as well as for the best interest of all those who are working ardently in behalf of this cause, that in a review of this character there should be envisaged all those movements which indicate growth and which form a real basis for permanent confidence in the ultimate outcome. But it is equally important that there should be kept in mind all of the unfavourable circumstances and the dangerous tendencies which confront the proponents of world peace. The one does not necessarily contradict the other. As a matter of fact the one must be the complement of the other. Undue emphasis upon the hopeful tendencies and the favourable achievements, or the opposite if unattended by a fair appraisal of the whole field, is exceedingly dangerous. It leads to undue optimism, on one hand, with its attendant lessening of effort or a sordid pessimism which surrenders to the worst and accepts as inevitable that what always has been always must be. In making a brief survey of the danger spots or zones, the author asks the privilege of writing quite personally of two or three incidents which have made a pro-

found impression upon his own life and have been in very large measure experienced by others who are engaged in this work.

A morning is recalled in Cologne, Germany, in 1899, when four friends met at breakfast and one in the party overhearing an unusual shouting in the sale of newspapers, went out into the street, bought an English paper, came back, held it up to display a very remarkable headline which announced that on the day before, at The Hague in Holland, 26 nations had signed a solemn treaty by which they had entered into a binding agreement that for all the years which were yet to be, they would settle their difficulties by arbitration and not resort to war. After a hurried breakfast, the four of us went to a room where we held what might be called a meeting of thanksgiving to God, for that which we believed to be the delivery of the world from the curse of war. Soon after I went around the world upon a speaking tour, particularly visiting the greater nations of the Orient. In India, China and Japan, I declared to the people that war had been abolished forever. That it was only an ancient memory of a day when the human races had engaged in adjusting their difficulties by a method which was a relic of barbarism. I assured the people everywhere that resort to that method was past; that it was done; that it was finished; that it would

be no more. I claimed the victory as a result of the leavening effect of Christianity. I believed that, millions believed it, the hearts of the people throughout the world were lifted up in 1899 by that beneficent announcement of the first Hague conference. It seemed as though a new and better world had dawned. Brotherhood and good will seemed nearer than in all the centuries. Then we lived to 1914 to witness most of those same nations jumping at one another's throats, with a fury the like of which the Zulus had never known. For the time being it looked as though the arbitration agreements of 1899 were only a hideous farce, a bundle of hypocrisy. The Hague Conference of 1899 was not a total failure but the tragedy of it was that the people of the world who so prayed and longed for peace overestimated its power. They relaxed their efforts.

Even though present circumstances give ample evidence that the new era in which we are now living shows marked advance since 1899, we must not be lured into overconfidence again. In 1911, I went to Europe to invite William T. Stead, then editor of the English *Review of Reviews,* to come to New York in 1912 to address a great convention in Carnegie Hall upon the topic, "Principles of World Peace." I knew Stead rather well, was aware of his temperament, his periods of great discourage-

ment, as well as those of great optimism. When I secured an interview and presented my invitation, it is fair to say he was in one of those hours of depression. He listened and then nervously replied, "Why should I go to the United States to deliver an address upon the principles of world peace while we on this side of the Atlantic are preparing for the damnedest war the world has ever known?" He pointed out of his window in the direction of Germany and said: "They are getting ready over there; France is getting ready; we are getting ready; there is war; there is war not very far away." I assured him that I did not believe that and also that, in his better moments, he did not believe it. And finally so pressed the invitation that he reluctantly accepted and was en route as my guest, when he went down to his death on the ill-fated *Titanic*. When the committee was finally convinced that Stead was among those who had been lost, in a desperate desire to meet the requirements of the great audience which it was expected would be in Carnegie Hall, telegrams were sent to the late James A. McDonald who was then editor of the Toronto *Globe,* urging him to take Mr. Stead's place. The committee knew that Stead and McDonald had loved like David and Jonathan. It was known that these two great publicists had much in common and it was felt that there was no man living who could so nearly

meet the requirements of that hour as could McDonald. He accepted the invitation. There are many who were in the audience that night who will share with the author the memory of the occasion. The first of those who had been rescued from the *Titanic* were being brought in to New York City that very night. There was a hush over the city. Notwithstanding this, however, a vast audience packed the capacity of Carnegie Hall. When Dr. McDonald was introduced to speak in the place of Stead, it was apparent he was under great emotion. But with tremendous fervour he spoke for one hour and a half, all the while following this form of utterance: "If Stead were here, he would say this." This was followed by some statement about war *versus* peace, and then, again and again, he repeated, "If Stead were here, he would say this." McDonald, the living, delivered the address which he believed Stead, whose body was then beating against the rocks and the ice off the Banks of Newfoundland, would have delivered if he could have lived to reach that place. At the close of that never to be forgotten address, there came what might be called a ten minute peroration in which this giant Scotchman poured out, with all the vigour of his great physique, his abundant intellect and his passion for peace, an appeal to America to rally by some method to help fight back the rising tide of this approaching war

which Stead had told the author was on the way. At the close he did not faint, but he was so exhausted physically that he had to be assisted from the platform. Late that night I went to his room in the Astor Hotel to be sure that he was getting rest from the terrific strain. He was wide awake, his eyes open and extended, his hair dishevelled. I said to him, "McDonald, you go to sleep now. You have won a night's rest. You delivered a great oration in Carnegie Hall." He turned and said in a manner not easily to be forgotten, "Please do not call it an oration. Did I convince them? Did I convince them?"

The writer has said upon a hundred occasions since that he could have wished he might at that time have realized fully what Stead said in August, 1911, and what McDonald said in April, 1912. For as a matter of fact there were delegates in that audience from every state in the United States. There were newspaper men there from nearly every city of the nation and all went out saying, "It was a great oration," but not convinced of the seriousness of the challenge. This incident is now recalled not for alarm, although alarm would be far better than complacency. It is recalled that the friends of humanity, the friends of world brotherhood and the friends of the Kingdom of God, may everywhere be helped to understand that we still live in the dan-

ger zones. We still live with all too many danger spots threatening the peace of the world.

An eminent statesman is reported to have said not long ago that there are twenty places throughout the world where there is still enough political and economic dynamite that, if any one of them should be suddenly ignited, it could blow up the whole world and precipitate a war worse than anything known in the past. It is not a time for lessened effort. It is not a time for serenity. The advances made are only prophecies which should call for enlarged service, more time, energy, talents and money to be released. Possibly there is no greater danger than the tendency to permit partial achievements to satisfy the high resolve of earlier years to rid the world, root and branch of the war theory. As years pass and the lessons of the last war are somewhat dulled and the ominous threatenings appear to have quieted, there will be this temptation to a sense of security. These considerations are the sanction for looking squarely at a few danger zones. What follows is only by way of suggestion. There may be more serious conditions than those intimated. There is no significance in the order in which these items appear. The last may be more important than the first. The author does not assume to fix the greater or lesser dangers.

In reality they are just sections of a great world condition.

1—*The Safe-Guards of the War System*

As a matter of serious fact, the militarists, the war makers and all their allies are still safe-guarding large areas of thought and industriously cultivating sentiment and protecting those avenues which make resort to war easy or at least possible at any time they elect to cry, "Wolf, Wolf!" If they can only keep the following slogans in respectable consideration they feel assured that their "craft" is not in immediate danger. In every conference room where the conferees draw near to sounding the eternal doom of the war system, the militarists are always mysteriously present. They praise the lofty purpose and only suggest that the delegates "keep their feet on the ground" and adopt "sane and sensible" proposals. They recommend the following as being in this sphere of sanity and with subtlety they argue as reservations for every treaty, pact or agreement,

1. "National Honour"
2. "Protection of life and property"
3. "Vital interests"
4. "Right of self-defence"

5. "The preservation, extension and modernization of the Monroe Doctrine."

Here are the big five theories or principles through which the proponents of occasional wars view with hope the perpetuation of the system. It must be accepted that each one of these involves principles having real potency. They cannot be ignored.

There is a high and worthy ideal in the desire to protect the good name of one's own country. Any man who does not love the country of his citizenship more than any other in the world ought to move to one which he may love more than any other. But take this noble impulse and let the blustering militarist use it as a war argument and it is the second most dangerous doctrine ever advocated, religious intolerance being first. Men can be driven to the murder passion in a few hours under the spell of this "national honour" psychology. I recall an incident on a ship in one of the South Seas where the larger number of passengers were British and Americans about equally divided. The voyage was perfect and all went well. But one day on the deck during some games, somebody said something to somebody which sounded like a slur upon a flag. There was a quick retort. The superior glory of the "Union Jack" and the "Stars and Stripes" was in-

volved. Men who had been friendly for days grew white with rage. Threats were made. Courage was challenged. Sides were taken. Not one dollar was in dispute. Not one foot of soil was involved. Not one principle was at issue. But "national honour" as typified by the flags had been questioned. Only the intervention of a calm master of the ship averted a disastrous deck fight. The incident passed without blows being struck. But friendship ceased on that voyage. "National honour" represents a most sensitive nerve and when advocated by a man or a group who believe in force as the quick recourse for grievances is a dangerous weapon.

Equally as much may be maintained for the normal and just advocacy of "protection of life and property." That country is bereft of one of the most sacred opportunities as well as obligations which does not hold in high esteem the life of its nationals wherever they may be on honourable missions and fails to let all know of this regard and purpose to protect them. That nation is tending to disintegrate when it becomes indifferent to the economic assets and endeavours of its citizens wherever they may be held or promoted in the accepted legal manner. But here again degrade these lofty obligations to the purposes of sinister war makers, who are pervaded by reactionary philosophies of impe-

rialism-economic determinism sanctioned by force, and the pathway is sure and swift to war. The ruthless adventurers of every nation in all times have gone out to distant parts to defy the laws of the country of their exploitations, to debauch its people and to indulge their greed to the utmost so long as they were assured by the home War Departments that they would come to their rescue with armed force if necessary. There never will be universal world peace until some international agreement is arrived at which will make it impossible for these economic prospectors to invade foreign countries, secure by trickery grants or leases or concessions, then defy the laws of that state and cry for military protection from the home government. America has had her full share of these exploiters. They always cultivate the war party before they start on their errands of vandalism. "Protection of life and property" as a formula for fomenting war when juggled with by the military group is a devilish weapon.

Latterly, there has been coined another insidious alibi for resort to war—"vital interests." No student of international affairs seems to be capable of giving an explanation of what is here involved. It may mean anything, it may mean nothing, but it opens wide a method of getting around the League of Nations, the International Court of Justice, The

Hague Tribunal, the Locarno Agreement, the Paris Peace Pact, or anything else which has been spoken, written, signed, hoped or prayed for as a deterrent to resort to human slaughter among nations or races. "Vital interest" may mean "oil," "sugar," "desired possessions," "reparations," "boundary lines," "tariff," "air control," "Suez Canal," "Panama Canal," "India," "China," "Philippine Islands," "Singapore," "Honolulu," "competitive armaments," "freedom of the seas." The warriors of tomorrow will find fertile propaganda stuff in "vital interests."

The same analogy is encountered in the "wars of self-defence." With the underdevelopment of legal and orderly methods of compulsory adjustment of frictions, to attempt to eliminate the right of defence would provoke outbreaks of war upon a hundred frontiers, to say nothing of civil strife within many states. The measure of intense sentiment behind this "self-defence" reservation which appears in every treaty and pact and resolution is the index of the deadly use which the war leaders can make of it. Give them wide enough latitude and they will justify every war in history by the clever use of this nomenclature. Some time ago a prominent preacher in the United States shot an unarmed man down in cold blood. Clever lawyers so manipulated the "self-defence" theory that the jury acquitted him

upon the first ballot. In 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1917, as the nations one by one were sucked into the vortex of death and destruction each pleaded "self-defence." There was no aggressor. There is no war of the future now mooted in Berlin, Moscow, Constantinople, Nanking or Washington, but that is to be one of "defence." The "right of self-defence" if given a liberal enough interpretation is entirely satisfactory to the war parties. They rest secure in their anticipations and have no fear of the treaties, the courts or the leagues.

The comparison is not exhausted when we reach "the preservation, extension and modernization of the Monroe Doctrine." Not long ago a rather prominent American was heard to say, "The Monroe Doctrine was pernicious when first advanced, it ought now to be abolished." Both of these statements are absurd. There was great value in the doctrine as given by President Monroe in 1823. Only a few decades had intervened between that date and the years of the American struggle for independence from an intolerable European system. There was no ulterior or sinister motive in the heart of the man whose name the doctrine bears. It was not "pernicious." It will not be "abolished." But a statement of principles enunciated in the early part of the nineteenth century may be evaluated and readjusted in the full swing of the twentieth cen-

tury. Bringing things up to date it may be well to observe that this doctrine is not now an exclusive American idea. Japan is certainly cherishing such an ambition for the Sunrise Kingdom. She asks for a mandate of the adjacent Orient. The British Commonwealth has the same sort of unwritten philosophy where she has vital interests. A casual visit to Italy will disclose a Mussolini vision which has appropriated that idea for the Balkan States and the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Germany was fighting in "self-defence" in 1914 for a Kaiser Wilhelm Monroe Doctrine which would reach to the Indian Ocean. Lenin and the Bolshevist government had the most ambitious hopes for a Communist Monroe Doctrine which was to be world extended. Small imagination is required to envisage the ultimate outbreak if the world is to be divided up into sections with the big powers assuming control of groups of unrelated and unwilling peoples. The present dogmatic adherence to the so-called American Monroe Doctrine by the avowed military leaders is a menace to the peace of the world. When the militarists have run out of other arguments they love to weep over the Monroe Doctrine. They hysterically declare that we must fight if need be to preserve this sacred tradition. Nobody living seems to know what it really did mean in 1823. It was only a message; it is a law only because it is old and has been

cherished. The world conditions of then have no resemblance to those which confront us today. The doctrine certainly needs a new interpretation and one which would receive friendly consideration by the Republics of South and Central America. Just because nobody has a positive idea of what it is, it becomes a deadly thing when used as an apology by men who thirst for imperialistic manifestations of America backed by a big navy and a vast army. One wonders what President Monroe might think if he could listen to some of the arguments now made for his doctrine by men who are the antithesis of what he represented—if history has given an accurate portrayal of his life.

The real fact is that the arguments now advanced for its sacred preservation have nothing in common with the issues Monroe was dealing with. The war party of America are distorting it as a means of keeping up the big armaments and holding soft jobs in their professions. They plead for the protection of the Western Hemisphere from alien invasion when there is not a hint or suggestion of such an invasion upon any horizon. Their true concern is to keep up the big army and navy for the emoluments they offer. The arguments now used for the Monroe Doctrine in most instances seem to be absurd. The illustrations as applied to present issues seem foreign. When the correspondence took place

which led to President Monroe's message, Russia, Austria, France and Spain were threatening an invasion of the Western Hemisphere. The Holy Alliance was a terror to other nations. Fear was everywhere. The United States had a population of about 10,000,000. We had very small resources with which to resist such an invasion even if it were to be brought to our own shores. In reality it was a "gentlemen's agreement" with England.

Now no foreign power is making any similar threat. Russia is remote. Austria is broken up. Spain is internally weakened. France has no such thought of affairs across the Atlantic. Her concern is to preserve her immediate boundaries against unfriendly neighbours. There is no Holy Alliance. The United States and Britain have twenty or more signed treaties, which supersede anything implied in the Monroe Message.

In those great crises which are yet to be, when differences among nations will emerge, when conciliatory methods for composing them seem inadequate, and when bitternesses are being manifested, when the "blood-letting" group cry "War, war," as they always do; if the frantic appeal of "national honour" is not sufficient to cause the outbreak, and "protection of life and property" does not carry through; and the "right of self-defence" is not vitally involved, then they can fall back upon the

"preservation, extension and modernization of the Monroe Doctrine." There are people who would fight under the mysterious spell of war psychology and hysteria for the Monroe Doctrine, even if they did not know whether it was made in Germany, England, Switzerland or Russia.

These are some of the avenues which are left wide open for future wars and constitute a real part of the danger areas.

2—*Reduction or Limitation of Armaments.*

Mr. Coolidge in his Omaha speech said:

"No nation ever had an army big enough but that somebody could organize one to defeat it."

In discussing this already overwrought question, it is well to start with a definite understanding that the author, as well as all the representative leaders of international good will societies and peace advocates, and also the students of internationalism, are agreed that everything that is being said about the constructive implements through courts and leagues and treaties and pacts, will be of small avail if they are not accompanied by a definite reduction of armaments on the sea and under it, upon the land and in the air.

It must be equally understood that all those to

whom reference has been made hold the view that big armaments are always the precursor of approaching war. That they have never been and never will be agencies of peace. Respectful consideration is gladly given to those sincere men and women who believe that somehow, by a mysterious quality never yet known in history, armaments can become a method for preserving peace. Much as those who hold this view are entitled to considerate judgment, it must be recalled that all the facts in all the history ever written in all the world prove the fallacy and absurdity of that argument. If history is of any value, then nothing is more certain than that great armaments always lead to war. This was demonstrated on a colossal scale in 1914. In the ten years from 1898 to 1908, when the competition had set in, the expenditures of the leading European nations on armaments increased at the rate of fifty million dollars per year. In the years from 1908 to 1914 when the pace was at breakneck speed, the increase for the same powers amounted to five hundred million dollars a year. Commenting upon this situation, a prominent British Statesman declared in 1912 that "Europe was rattling back to barbarism." Their armaments were said to be peace measures. They resulted in war. If the theory that big armaments are peace-making influences, why is it not expedient to urge all citizens, men and

women, to equip themselves with revolvers, rifles, stilettos and some pocket-sized gas bombs, these to be carried daily as compelling arguments for keeping peace and friendly relations in the community? The answer is conclusive. That method was tried upon many frontiers and was always provocative of fights, murders and outlawry. Every decent civilized city on earth prohibits carrying fire-arms, except by the police, because they want peace. A man carrying a gun invites a fight. A nation carrying a big gun display is a threat of war, an invitation to combat.

In Mr. Coolidge's address at Annapolis in 1925, when speaking of this cry for larger armaments and of the struggle which was going on among the nations in their attempt mutually to agree to limit military preparation, he urged that a choice must be made between the old theory of competition in armaments and the better and newer theory of reduction in armaments. He said, "Carried to its logical conclusion, this means more and more armaments; more and more hatred and suspicion. A return to the old plan of direct competition in military preparation with the certainty that as soon as the world can arm and prepare itself after one war, it will be plunged into another."

Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice gives this

sober advice and admonition after years of wisdom and experience:

"I went into the British Army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for war. I believe now that if you prepare thoroughly for war, you will get war."

Once more quoting from Senator Borah's address when the Fifteen Cruiser bill was before the Senate, and as always, it was being pressed as a world peace method:

"Admiral Plunkett repeats the old, worn-out fable that the way to have peace is to prepare for war. When the great World War broke the nations responsible for that war were armed to the teeth. They had bled their people white in the name of the hoary lie that arms means peace.

"If one single nation could arm to the limit and all other nations would refuse to arm it might mean peace for that particular armed nation. But the minute one nation begins to arm all other nations begin to do so, and then a few threats are put out and war is easy and, indeed inevitable.

"But whether these people succeed in bringing on war or not, they will succeed in overburdening the

already overtaxed American people with billions of additional debt.

"We now have a public debt of some $18,000,000,000 growing out of the war. Our hospitals are still filled with the diseased and the insane.

"We are taking one-third of the farmers' income for taxes, and business is pleading daily with members of Congress that their tax burdens are eating up all their profits. Some one had better have a voice in this matter besides those whose business is not to declare policies.

"All this is a part of the well-organized plan to prepare the public mind for a naval race. A limited number of cruisers to help police our commerce can be justified. But this program together with the wild and excited statements about war, is sheer madness."

This warning is predicated upon the hypothesis that a competition in armaments among the nations is a guaranty of war, that a progressive reduction in armaments is essential to peace. If these theories are valid then something more has to be done in the limitation and reduction of armament on land and sea or the world is headed straight to another vortex of human sacrifice which will surpass all imagination. The nations have at present 5,500,000 men in their regular armies; 3,500,000 of these are in

Europe where the people are taxed almost beyond endurance to keep up the pace. Upon the continent of Europe they maintain one soldier for each two hundred of the population. The average for the entire world is one to three hundred population. This figure does not include the "militia," the "reserves" or the "territorials." The naval strength of the same nations is over 5,000,000 tons in warships and cruisers. This is a little less than in 1918 but away beyond 1913. It is worthy of special note that the small total decrease is due directly to the Washington Conference of 1922. The United States has increased her naval strength by 500,000 tons since 1918 and now the cry of the militarist in every land is for more soldiers, more sailors, more guns, more ships, more submarines, more fighting power.

Just one or two economic facts are sufficient to give some faint idea of the intolerable burden. The nations are spending $3,500,000,000 annually for the support of the war game. Every family in all the world is taxed $10.00 per year for this bloody system. If the war fear could be eliminated, one twentieth of that would be abundant for police purposes. The figures quoted above are from the League of Nations report of the "Mixed Commission for Limitation of Armaments" and summarized by P. Whitwell Wilson in the *New York Times*. The complete figures may be had by application to

this Commission at the League of Nations in Geneva.

It is not the purpose or function of this book to deal exhaustively with statistics bearing upon any of the technical questions of war. But some salient ones are essential in reference to the much discussed question of expenditures for war purposes. They are summed up accurately for the United States in the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the year 1927, in which it appears that in 1910 the United States was paying out 67 7/10 per cent of its total income for wars past and future. Then that amount steadily increased until in 1918 the percentage had reached 90 2/10 per cent of the total income. That in turn decreased a little up to 1925. Now, however, it is on the increase again, and by this latest report of the Treasury Department we are spending 82 per cent of the total federal income for wars past and future.

The following paragraph quoted from this report is suggestive of this unthinkable burden:

"This table shows that in modern times the Federal tax burden of one generation is largely determined by the military activities of the preceding one. In the fiscal year 1927 expenditures for interest on the public debt exceeded by over $140,000,000 the aggregate amount of ordinary civil expenditure, and

exceeded the amount of all retirements of the public debt by nearly $70,000,000."

And now as though this were not already intolerable, the militarists are clamouring to add to an already overtaxed people about a billion dollars a year, and God only knows what they would do were it not for the restraining influence of men in Congress who have a saner view and entertain hopes for universal peace, and whose knowledge of the past gives them unmistakable evidence that all of this is simply a direct path towards another war. Congress grows deeply sensitive to the need of reduction of taxes. Appropriations for education, for redemption of arid areas, for the protection of the Mississippi and other flood menaced valleys are cut to the core or postponed. But the "Big Navy" appeal seems to stun their capacity for economy. The warships and cruisers must be built. While the peace and stability of the world, indeed, the preservation of this civilization is put in jeopardy, as this mad race goes on.

The Kellogg-Briand Peace Treaty has now been shorn of some of its greater power and hope by this insatiable lust for more guns and fighting machines. Every man and woman of mature judgment in the entire world will believe there is hypocrisy somewhere behind the scenes of that famous pact if it is

not followed by a constructive plan for reducing the armies and navies to something which will resemble police strength.

The people could not fail to cherish a sense of keen disappointment concerning the ratification of the treaty upon one day and then to be confronted with a nervous haste to pass the cruiser bill upon the next. All of the apologies and excuses were of no avail to those who had placed such high esteem upon this renunciation of war compact. They renounced war as a national policy with one hand and proceeded the next day with both fists clenched to notify the rest of the world that they expected war to be the real national policy. The following great headlines in the New York morning papers as of January, 1929, left no room to doubt but that behind the scenes there was small confidence that the treaty had any vital bearing upon the permanent elimination of war as a National policy:

CRUISER BILL UP:
EARLY VICTORY DUE

Senate Supporters Confident
Can Block Attempt
to Delay Vote

AMERICA WILL BUILD A
NAVY BIG ENOUGH
TO CLEAR THE SEAS FOR
HER MERCHANT MARINE

NAVY BUILDING BILL
PASSED IN FRANCE

Bases Notified of Approval of
989,000,000 Franc Measure for
18 New Warships

ITALY WILL BUILD
13 NEW WARSHIPS

Program Adopted Calls for Four Cruisers, Four Destroyers and Five Submarines

ROME, Jan. 25 (AP)—The Council of Ministers, with Premier Mussolini presiding and holding seven of the thirteen portfolios, today decided on a program for laying down two battle cruisers of 10,000 tons each, two light scouting cruisers of 5,000 tons each, four destroyers and five submarines. Construction will begin in June.

18 NEW VESSELS ON BRITISH NAVY PROGRAM

LONDON, Feb. 1—(I. N. S.)—Despite the Kellogg antiwar treaty, disarmament conferences and a demand for economy, there is little likelihood of the British naval estimates for 1929-30 showing any reduction from the total of $286,500,000 voted for the financial year just closing.

In well informed circles it is declared parliament will be asked to authorize the construction of the following new vessels:

One 10,000-ton cruiser of the "county" class, two 8,400-ton cruisers, one flotilla leader, eight destroyers and six submarines.

And before President Coolidge had been given time to either veto or sign the Fifteen Cruiser bill the blustering boastful American war makers had issued a new threat. This headline is indicative of their purpose to get the five billion dollar increase proposed in 71 Cruiser in 1928.

NAVY PLANS TWO
IMMENSE NEW
DREADNAUGHTS

35,000 Tons, with 20 Mile Range

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 9—(Special)—A new naval replacement program, providing for two giant battleships, as well as aircraft carriers, submarines and destroyer leaders, is being prepared by the navy department for submission to congress next December, it was learned today.

In addition a number of cruisers may be added to the program to supplement the fifteen cruisers carried in the current naval bill, which President Coolidge is expected to sign Monday or Tuesday.

These newspaper headlines and comments demonstrate how little confidence these publishers have in the Paris Peace Treaty as the final act of outlawing war.

The utter inconsistency of peace pacts of the Paris, 1928, kind and these boasts of bigger navies

was summed up by one trenchant paragraph from the pen of Dr. John A. Hutton of the London *British Weekly:*

"If America and we are pledged never to put pressure upon one another by force of arms, it passes the wit of man to understand why on the one side and on the other there should be any use for such mighty fleets."

The question was raised with peculiar reference to Britain and America, but it can well be propounded to all the signatories of the Treaty. The cold fact is that in spite of the Paris treaty they are still thinking "WAR." At about this time Lloyd George said in a speech in Lancashire, "It is sheer folly to be signing Peace Pacts and Treaties while we are sticking our waist bands full of guns and knives so as to be ready to kill. The wine of Locarno has soured."

The pessimist, the discouraged and the militarist will find new support in such sentiments as those expressed by the Hon. Winston Churchill in his recent book *Aftermath.* Here is a sample of his philosophy:

"The story of the human race is war. Except for brief and precarious interludes, there has never been

peace in the world; and before history began, murderous strife was universal and unending. But the modern developments surely require severe and active attention.

"Death stands at attention, obedient, expectant, ready to serve, ready to shear away the peoples en masse: ready, if called on, to pulverize, without hope of repair, what is left of civilization. He awaits only the word of command. He awaits it from a frail, bewildered being, long his victim, now—for one occasion only—his master."

Mr. Churchill's is not a single mind running wild seeking sensations. He was the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Great Britain. This was the viewpoint of a man in the Government. It was released within a few weeks after the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact renouncing war forever. It did not flavour of much hope for permanent peace. It was more like a surrender to impending destruction.

In the meantime the machinery which has been set up by the League of Nations, falters before its great opportunity. Lord Cushendun's address before the Assembly of the League in September, 1928, upon the work of that Commission was a frank admission that it would be a long, long time before anything definite could be accomplished. As one listened to him then there was no doubt of the

sincerity of his desires but hopelessness was in his prophecy for anything but a remote something. The writer was in Europe again in April, 1929, when Ambassador Hugh Gibson made his famous address in Geneva before the League of Nations Committee for the Reduction of Armaments. It was acclaimed by everybody as a new date in human history. It was editorially commented upon with favour in the great papers. But the cautioning voice was not long delayed. The difficulties in the way were soon discovered. The proposal is on file and may be just there for years to come. Reduction of Armaments stands at the cross-roads. It threatens every aspiration in all the peace program.

So far as anyone can judge the facts about the armaments question up to date, the situation is this: The people are being bled a pale thin white with taxation to keep up the military bluff and carry the old burdens. The backs of the mature and old people are bending under the load. The younger folks are being robbed of food, clothing and education. The public funds which might be used to give them a decent chance must be expended to keep up the pomp of the military game. The people everywhere cry for relief. The demand for a vital reduction in armaments seems to be almost unanimous. In the meantime the best expectations have centred in the

Mixed Commission of the League of Nations which exists for this specific purpose. The entire history of this commission is as sad and monotonous as a dirge. The 1929 session was a pitiful story. Here assembled in Geneva were men of high estate, representing twenty nations. For four long weary weeks they talked.

During this time one real flash of hope burst forth in the Hugh Gibson speech already referred to and then it quickly died out as the old evasive subterfuges came back. They resumed wrangling about "tonnage" *vs.* "gun calibre," "reduction" *vs.* "limitation," and other meaningless hair-splitting phrases. Somewhere, I believe, they did pass a resolution against the use of poison gas, in time of war. Every man in that assembly knew then that if a war should break out every nation involved would be using gas inside of sixty days. They might as well have spent their time adopting rules to govern bulldog fights. They would have had exactly the same authority. Finally, like a company of men who were ashamed to face the home folks, they sent out an alibi about reduction of armaments by "publicity." I do not wish to impugn the motives of Mr. Gibson, who moved the roll call upon that motion. His record in that conference was good and I do not say that just because he is an American, but because it is true and he is worthy of high commendation.

President Hoover also deserves unqualified praise, for, of course, Mr. Gibson was speaking under the President's direction. Neither would I wish to impugn the desires of all other delegates. They comprised a sad picture of the awful nightmare of fear which haunts Europe.

But the travesty was appalling. The tired world must be satisfied with reading the "publicity" which will be carefully prepared by experts who know how to fool the folks in peace as in war, and the one assurance given by Lord Cushendun that the "investigations" will be continued. Militarism won a signal victory in Geneva in 1929. The nations will go on producing warships, cruisers, submarines, bombing aircraft, cannon, gases, and every other war provocating product. Every clique of war makers on earth will rejoice and take new courage about the permanence of their profession. I have not been informed as to the exact method by which the conference adjourned. The most appropriate way would have been to sound "taps."

Nothing more conclusive, nothing more authoritative could be said concerning the present trend on the whole armament question than the following statement issued by President Hoover in connection with the appointment of a commission to study the methods by which our nation cannot only stop increasing expenditures for armaments, but in some

way reduce the budget. What President Hoover says about this question in America can be applied to every major nation throughout the world.

"These estimates indicate by 1933 an increased burden of somewhere from $250,000,000 to $300,000,000 above the expenditures of the fiscal year just ended and from $400,000,000 to $500,000,000 above the expenditures of four years ago.

"Of this, the purely military and naval expenditures, excluding non-military activities of these departments, represent about one-half. The combined expenditures are estimated at $803,000,000 in 1933, an increase of $120,000,000 over the last fiscal year and $224,000,000 over four years ago. All of which compares with a total $266,000,000 average pre-war total for the combined military services of the Army and Navy, or an estimated increase by 1933 of $530,000,000 over pre-war. These amounts do not include any amount which we justly spend on veterans who suffered in past years, which in itself amounts to about $820,000,000 per annum. Moreover, many bills are pending before Congress that will still further increase this sum."

Meanwhile, something may be done in restraining the more pernicious military groups in the various nations as they attempt to force enlarged measures through legislative bodies. But fundamentally this awaits international action. It cannot be done

by a single state or through any bilateral agreement. It is a danger zone which spreads over the world.

An entirely erroneous impression may be left by the author if it is not made clear that so long as the war system remains as it is there will be need for military police force. I was in a hotel in Boston on a night when in one direction could be seen the spires of Trinity Church—a high emblem of Religion; and in another, the domes of the buildings of Harvard University typifying the finest culture of education. But no one was permitted to go out of the hotel. The police were out on strike. Religion, education and Boston culture had failed to make the city streets safe. Boston needed policemen on that night. But policing the world against bandits and outlaws is an entirely different matter than arming it for warfare. Against the first there is no valid argument. Against the second there is every argument.

Note As the book goes to press, once again the tides have swung towards the hopeful side. The Rt. Hon. Ramsay J. MacDonald, is Prime Minister of Great Britain; the Honorable Charles G. Dawes, is Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and there is a definite proposal that Premier MacDonald shall visit the United States and confer with President Hoover and the State Department about the next steps for Naval Disarmament. These incidents have called forth unstinted praise from all the genuine friends of good will and peace. The purposes of these two Governments now cannot be called in doubt but all their negotiations have yet to pass through the fiery furnace of the world's suspicions, jealousies and fears, and the continued pressure of public opinion will alone bring these hopes to fruition.

3—*The Freedom of the Seas*

Under cover of a vast amount of unrelated talk, which seeks to divert attention from the real sore spots, there lie slumbering deep prejudices and misunderstanding about who shall rule, control, dominate, the sea in peace as well as in war. One of the confusing things in the whole discussion of peace or war is that so many important men in every nation talk away from the real issue. No small amount of the professed solicitude for the security of wide extended border-lines, if the real frank, honest truth were spoken, is really the old question of "who shall rule the sea." Also much of the nervous argument about the protection of commerce and the merchant ships is only a disguise of that determined purpose to settle "who shall rule the sea." For more than two hundred fifty years Great Britain has held this sacred privilege and by long custom has resented any word spoken or hinted that that supremacy should be disturbed. The British have maintained with desperate earnestness that this sea control is indispensable for their life. This superiority upon the great sea highways has been breathed into British poetry, art and music. It has been taught the children in the nursery and the school. It is a sort of secondary religion in the British Isles. The Briton says: "To surrender the right of search and cap-

ture would be to surrender in favour of our enemy the most powerful, in most cases the only, instrument of defence which we possess. Without a blockade exercised in just the way which created such American wrath in 1915 and 1916, Germany could never have been defeated." But a great change has taken place in several major states in their plans for sea activities. In the forefront stands the United States with high investments throughout the world and an export trade not only doubled in five years, but with hitherto undreamed-of anticipations of expansion, luring the nation's leaders to this field of commercial advantage. While speeches are heard about the necessity for naval "replacement" and adequate "policing" equipment, the red-hot fire which burns underneath is "the freedom of the sea."

The following in a prominent publication puts the American position in cold, blunt terms, but not far removed from the popular view:

"Our whole foreign commerce, our right to trade with nations with which we are at peace, can at any moment be forbidden by a foreign state—Britain—whenever that state chooses to go to war. Our rights of movement in the world are subject to the will of Britain, whenever she happens to be at war. We intend to vindicate our right to the freedom of the sea, and for that purpose we shall have a navy

so great that when we make representations they will be listened to, even by Great Britain."

It was exactly this, without specific reference to Great Britain, that President Wilson foresaw when he made one of his famous "Fourteen Points" as follows:

"Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants. If the bald, unvarnished fact is wanted to explain the tragic failure of the Geneva Naval Conference in 1927, many superfluous words may be economized by simply saying it was 'who shall rule the sea.' All the rest is a mere subterfuge—an attempt to 'save face.' "

A comment heard all too freely in the United States and in Great Britain is that "the seas are now too small to hold both the American and British navies."

There may be strength enough in the existing committees, boards, commissions, leagues and courts to compose this vital issue in an orderly manner. But if that strength should fail, then war is the answer. Two or three considerations are of importance. In the first place, the recognized codified

law is not sufficient. At least four big powers are now making their own interpretation of what laws do exist, and not one of the theories seems to be satisfactory to the other three. In the second place, it is certain that Great Britain cannot remain "mistress of the sea" unless that position is maintained by war. In the third place, America is not to become the big ruler of the seas, unless she is prepared to go to war with a dozen sea powers and hazard the result. Among the danger zones, not one is more serious in the years just ahead than this—

4—*Who Is to Rule the Sea*

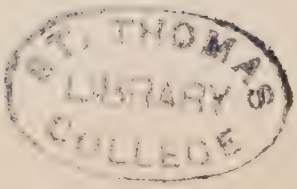
There are two solutions—and only two. One is to go on throwing bitter insinuations into the discussion; to continue to permit "naval experts" to sit at the conference tables and juggle figures about "tonnage," "capital ships *vs.* small cruisers," and "trade security" and "traditions"—and as a sure result *fight*. This solution, if resorted to, can only be temporary, whoever might win.

The other is to hold an unbiased conference which will be directed by sincere peace lovers of the vital states who will codify the laws that are essential, recommend the additional enactments which seem necessary and create an "International Board" for sea control. Neither the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia nor

Japan will rule the seas if peace is to be preserved. This is an international question. It must be adjudicated by an international agreement. All the leagues, courts, treaties and peace societies may as well abandon hope of permanent good will unless this international theory of the "freedom of the seas" is accepted.[1]

The waves of the seven seas wash the shores of many nations. They are international in scope. *The new world will tolerate no sea bully—no matter what flag may be unfurled at the mast.*

[1] A recent and valuable book, "Freedom of the Seas," by the eminent English author, George Young Esq., is recommended upon this subject.


ST. THOMAS
LIBRARY
COLLEGE

THE PEACE PARADE
—By Talburt in Scripps-Howard Newspapers

VII. DANGER ZONES—PART II

1—*Raw Materials*

WHILE other subjects such as some of those already indicated are commanding first attention because they have the element of immediacy in their pressure for solution, there is rapidly emerging another group which will command high statesmanship in the future. One of these may be summed up in these two ominous words "Raw Materials." The question is, *How can the various nations have access upon fair terms to these indispensable products?* Fortunately this problem has not yet reached the acute stage but under certain emergencies in world trade, which are not too remote, it might become acute in thirty days' time. And certainly if any one nation or alliance of nations should seek to "corner the market" upon some of these materials most universally used, then at once the issue will become a peril to all the international programmes for co-operation and good will. Therefore, in all the councils and conferences which meet to advance this doctrine of good will, the importance of the raw material question ought to be considered. In view of the growing demand for the limitation of naval

armaments and in recognition of the fact that the freedom of the seas is the crux of that movement, it is quite possible that some tangible results may be achieved in the conferences which are pending upon reduction of armaments. But underneath is the one of raw material, which has to be dealt with or there will come an hour when the peace theory cannot longer be sustained.

Some years ago when the press was indicating that Great Britain was attempting to get a monopoly of the rubber trade and, apparently, through that power to exact exorbitant prices, I chanced to be in conversation with a prominent American who is vitally involved in the rubber situation. He was furious in his denunciation of what he regarded as a ruthless proposal. Inasmuch as it seemed to me not unlike a good many other schemes in the commercial world with which I had been somewhat familiar, and not all of them had been outside of the United States, I said to the gentleman, "Well, these regulations seem to be within their legal rights; what can we do about it?" His answer quick and decisive was, "We can fight if we must." The look in his face, together with the knowledge of his power, gave evidence that a war over the production and distribution of a raw substance like rubber might be possible in the absence of any international agreement to direct that trade.

Something like this might be said about coal. Such an issue is far removed as judged by the present conditions in the coal trade but it is not entirely impossible. A good deal can be said about iron ore with the same implications. The sacred word "security" with all that is claimed for it as a guaranty of national life would have a different meaning if there were no coal or iron ore in the Ruhr Valley or in Alsace or Lorraine. The anxious solicitude about "extraterritoriality" and the protection of the lives of "nationals" in China would be reduced about seventy-five per cent were it not for those vast uncharted, unappraised deposits of iron ore and coal back in the interior.

As a matter of fact, most of these high-sounding claims of a desire to help elevate the Chinese would be nearer the truth if they were bluntly stated as a greedy competition to get hold of the raw materials which are there in such enormous values. There might be a war over iron ore some day if no effort is made to guaranty fair access to these fields.

Coal, iron ore, rubber, are only more conspicuous than other elements in public discussions of the raw material question because they bulk so largely in financial transactions, involve freight tonnage and shipping equipment and interlock with all of the industrial developments in every part of the world.

The list of necessary raw materials which have to

be exported and imported to keep up the work of the world is not a limited one. Copper, timber, sugar, cotton, salt and many more are essential products which have to be reckoned with. But there is one which is giving pause to every student of international matters. Most serious-minded men who attempt to prophesy about the future of the enduring peace movement at some time come face to face with the question of oil.

An economic and social revolution has been and is going on because of the new possibilities which have followed the discovery and refining of oil. When a casual survey of the uses of oil is made, it seems almost incredible that the entire development is only sixty years old. Oil with its place in the world story is in its infancy. A perfectly natural outcome is this intense race to get control of the surveyed territories where the greater deposits are known to be.

Oil is a very powerful thing. Politics, courts, education and religion are brought into the fiery furnace of the tempting power of oil. When the United States was in strained relations with Mexico in 1926, with Nicaragua behind the scenes, much was said about the safety of the "lives of American citizens" who were in Mexico and were living close to the border. "Protection of our investment" was the second item in the headline. "National honour"

of course was not overlooked. Oil was the real issue. Sinclair, Doheny, Fall and Stewart talked "patriotism" in the field of the conservation of our national resources when they were bribing officials and selling leases and debauching the government and the courts. Oil, with its possible millions and millions of dollars, was the actual thing which directed all their thefts. The barterings with Russia and the by-play with the Soviet are determined almost entirely by the passion to control oil. The halls of the conference at Versailles in 1919 were not immune to the influence of oil. It is difficult to discover any lofty humanitarian desires in the parcelling out of the mandates for Mesopotamia. It is not difficult to discern the influence of oil. Perhaps if the United States had been proffered a mandate which would have included greater oil fields our government would have been more receptive to this proposal.

Without going into details which are impossible here, the fact to be borne in mind and dealt with is that oil has become fundamental to the world's progress. No progressive people can live without it. The other fact is that every nation looking forward to a greater life is engaged in an attempt to control enough of the output for its future security. This competition is growing and will become more intense as years go by. In the discussion regarding

the "freedom of the seas," reference was made to the underlying reason for some of the international strains, and the deduction was that while euphonius titles were many times given, the real reason was "Who shall rule the sea." That same form can be applied in this connection. "Who shall control the oil" is behind the scenes in many a conference room when some indirect matter is handed out to the public. In this oil problem the United States is as much involved as in any other international topic under discussion. According to the present trend our demands for oil are increasing more rapidly than those of any other people. In 1928 we produced 72 per cent of all the oil put on the market of the world. We consumed for our domestic trade 65 per cent of the total. While there does not exist the full knowledge of the total deposits which have been surveyed by the engineers, according to the best information available we have only about 18 per cent of the world's supply. The mathematical conclusion is that we shall some day not so far away be compelled to import from Russia or Mesopotamia. We do not want to resort to warships and blood-letting to clear the sea lanes and open the ports. Therefore we must share early in the pacific agreements for oil trade as well as for all raw materials.

A scant knowledge of history is sufficient to realize

that a war over oil is not impossible. The whole thing is this: if the raw materials without which the factories and the mills cannot run and the consequent loss of food and clothing follows, and when people starve and suffer, then away go the pacts and the courts and the leagues. There are few men or people who will not fight to death when circumstances of that kind emerge.[1]

International commissions are at work upon the adjustment of disputed geographical boundaries, the destruction of the opium trade, the proper sanitation and health of the people of every nation, good education, reduction of armaments, the revision and improvement of the International Court of Justice and interracial conditions. Each is important but none is more important than one to bring about an international agreement to make accessible upon fair terms to all nations the raw materials without which they cannot live.

If the extension of the conciliatory methods to this field is neglected and the competition reaches the point where "vital interests," and "national security," and the "preservation of life" can be pleaded as the argument for resort to force, war will come

[1] Those who have especial interest in this question can secure fuller information by application to Dr. George Otis Smith, Director Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

back by this route if not by some other at an earlier date.

When the nations more dependent upon importing these materials than others, are deprived of that fair treatment, they do not need to wait for an army of invasion to claim the "self-defence" clause. There would be an attempt to justify "self-defence" even though they crossed seas to compel some other power to loose its grasp of the hoarded products which were indispensable to their existence.

In the chapter upon "What America Can Do" a few facts are given to illustrate how dependent we are upon other countries for some of our materials. But if that is a valid argument, it works the other way quite as effectively. This list of raw products and supplies together with the percentage being controlled by the United States, which is quoted from an issue of the Washington *Post* of November, 1928, gives an indication of why the representative men of other nations are anxious as to what attitude America is to adopt in the fair distribution of these materials:

55 per cent of the world's iron ore
51 per cent of the world's pig iron
66 per cent of the world's steel
51 per cent of the world's copper
62 per cent of the world's petroleum

43 per cent of the world's coal
52 per cent of the world's timber
65 per cent of the world's naval stores
42 per cent of the world's phosphate
80 per cent of the world's sulphur
63 per cent of the world's mica
62 per cent of the world's lead
64 per cent of the world's zinc
60 per cent of the world's talc and soapstone
45 per cent of the world's barytes
55 per cent of the world's cotton
95 per cent of the world's automobiles.

Thus among the danger zones, the advocates of good will must take account of the high pressures which may be occasioned by the economic and human issues involved in the availability of the world's raw materials.

2—*Nationalism*

This may have been partially suggested under the subject of "National Honour," but nationalism is a mania; it is a super-state philosophy. The conceit of one's sense of national honour may be wounded to a fighting frenzy while the same justification of offence would not be conceded to another national. But extreme nationalism grants no such privileges to anyone. It is the logic of the divine superiority

conception of one's own country. It advocates the doctrine that the noblest way to advance "my country" is to destroy some other people's country.

There is no more intricate question before the people in these strategic years than to find a proper balance between true patriotism and extreme nationalism. That man is a poor citizen who does not love his own country more than he loves any other country; that man is a poor husband who does not love his own wife more than he loves any other woman; that man is not a very good citizen who does not love his own community and seek its welfare more than that of any other community. But that man is dangerous in domestic circles when he loves his own home so much that he would take a mean advantage of his neighbours. That man is not a good patriot who simply shouts about being "one hundred per cent" for his homeland and then slurs other nations. True patriotism and nationalism are entirely different things. I think it is fair to say that we in America just now are tempted to this extreme nationalistic view; and if that boasting attitude is to pervade our life with all its unreality, all its possibilities for arousing jealousy and bitterness, then American nationalism may be a curse to the whole world. I know of nothing finer upon this than the following quotation from Professor Carle-

ton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, in his book on *Nationalism:*

"Nationalism unless it be rendered critically instead of ignorantly, humble instead of proud, for service and not greed, does not promise to promote human progress. It promises not to unify but to disintegrate the world; not to preserve and create, but to destroy civilization."

Another comment which must make church men and women of all creeds and beliefs pause in the presence of this fury of one hundred per cent nationalism was made in a sermon by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick under the general title "Christianity's Supreme Rival":

"The gist of the matter lies in the fact that the dogma of nationalism, as it has developed in the last two centuries, has become a competing religion. I think it the most dangerous rival of Christian principles on earth. The crucial conflict today is not primarily Christianity *versus* Buddhism, or Christianity *versus* Mohammedanism, but Christianity *versus* nationalism, and until one has clearly envisaged that fact one does not understand the crux of our situation."

There is a path which will insure war in spite of every device for preventing it. It is simply to teach all Americans to shout about the superiority of everything they hold and have and then get the British, the French, the Germans, the Italians, the Russians, the Japanese, the Indians, the Chinese, the South Americans and all the others doing the same thing. War will be indefinite then only as to who will shoot first. The peril to world peace is written in every tone of voice and mannerism of the ultra nationalist.

3—*Geographical Jealousies*

The danger zones enumerated thus far have to do with principles of life in various nations and of so called "rights." The list has not been exhausted, but there is another set which has to do with geographical problems. They may involve some of the same questions but they focus upon geography. They run back in many instances to old biological facts. Some involve grievances which have been nurtured for centuries. Others centre in ambitions for national expansion. And yet others are fanned by passions for religious domination. But brief mention of these will be made, for they have been hinted at in another place.

Some time ago in conversation with one of the best informed internationalists—best informed by

reading, best informed by his ability to interpret history and best informed by his personal contacts with all the irritated zones before, during and since the war—I asked, "Where are, geographically speaking, the great peril spots, the danger zones?" He replied: "There are eight or ten of them but it would be impossible to refer to them except as they are more or less related to each other." A world map was near by. He picked it up and then with a heavy red pencil indicated the following as some of these spots on the map:

The first line was drawn and underscored for nearly the entire length of the Rhine River. A mere look at the map brings to memory all the story of the wars which have raged back and forth over that historic river. It seems a wonder that it does not run red with blood even now. For a thousand years the wild men of the North and the wild men of the South have struggled, fought, won and lost over the Rhine. Thirty-six wars have been fought over the Alsace-Lorraine districts. During the lifetime of men who are now living, the German armies have three times crossed the Rhine to invade France and the bitterness of the penalties imposed in 1870 are just as keen and sharp as they were in 1871. France has not forgotten. And then, after all those years of defeat, there came 1918 and it isn't strange that the French representatives in the

Versailles Conference made extreme demands, demands which will have to be modified or perhaps they will repent in later years. Eleven years have passed and the armies of occupation, both French and British, are still patrolling the streets of those German cities in the Saar Valley. Whatever may be the verdict of time as to the right or wrong, wisdom or lack of it, one thing is certain—they have kept the wounds open and well salted.

The depths of the hate, engendered by those ancient struggles and recent events are not easily understood except by those who have lived in that zone. There is a written agreement which indicates a truce over the Rhine just now, but careful observers believe it to be only a truce of economic exhaustion. France is demanding the fulfilment of the Versailles Treaty with adequate reparations. This does not seem unreasonable when one recalls the devastation and the ruthlessness of the years 1914 to 1918. Germany is held in leash by enforced disarmament and by the dominance of the Republican party which sincerely believes peace is the best policy. But behind the scenes, there is the rumbling of the old Nationalist party, in the minority for the present, but under some great provocation they might easily become the majority party in thirty days' time. Making this more serious is the steadily increasing alliance of Germany with Soviet Rus-

sia. The treaties of 1927 and 1928, which were signed between Germany and Russia, seem to deal with the pacific means of adjusting all disputed questions between the two states. But the leaders of most other European powers view with great anxiety these negotiations. They are regarded as an alliance for the emergencies which may yet arise and call for military co-operation.

It does not take a great deal of imagination to see what might happen in some future year when some incident, either real or imagined, should leave an opening for resort to arms and then put together German efficiency and discipline with unlimited Russian man power and raw materials. That would be a real war.

Remembering fully the more hopeful indications that were pointed out in an earlier chapter and which will be emphasized in a later one, it is folly for those who are working constructively for the preservation of peace, to undervalue the danger of the river Rhine.

Another line was drawn between Poland and Russia, and circled around some of the smaller states. Beneath this can be written the apprehensions so many nations in Europe have of Russia, and what she may some day attempt to accomplish by force of arms when she has failed to secure it by secret propaganda.

Another line was drawn all the way around Italy. This intimates the profound fears which practically all Europeans have of "Il Duce, Benito Mussolini." He believes in the divine authority of Fascism. He believes he is the supreme manifestation of Fascism. He evidently believes this conception of government is to be universal. His neighbours say they will resist with force to the utmost any attempt made to extend his dogma. One of two things must happen. Either Mussolini must change his mind about Fascism, or be content to have it a purely Italian thing. Many see but small hope for either of these alternatives. In a recent speech in which he was led to reply to a question about the adverse sentiment in other nations to the Fascist program, he said:

"There are certain gentlemen who define themselves as officiating priests of a mysterious divinity called public opinion. We do not care a damn for this public opinion. Fortunately we are still an army."

In conversation with a member of the League of Nations at Geneva in September, 1928, I commented upon the success of the League in adjusting several controversies which threatened war, and asked him if he had confidence that its good offices would

be equal to all emergencies. His quick answer was: "No, not with Mussolini alive."

Another long line was drawn down through the Pacific Ocean. It reached from Alaska at the north to Australasia on the south. This would illustrate the zone of which Lothrop Stoddard wrote in *The Rising Tide of Color*. It would also be in line with a large number of men who are saying that the real test of the good-will movement of the future is to be its capacity to meet amicably the increasing tensions of the Pacific Ocean. As long ago as thirty years *Colqhoun* wrote his book *The Mastery of the Pacific,* in which he prophesied that eventually the whole world would become involved in the political and economic issues of the Pacific, most of which then seemed so remote. His anticipations were called absurd and impossible by most people. But slowly the issues have emerged just about as he predicted. Now all students of the more delicate intricacies of internationalism are centring their thought upon the Pacific Ocean and the attitudes being taken by the nations bordering on her waters. All of the problems of Europe and the Near East are here, plus some which are unique. For centuries the Western white races and nations have looked upon these brown and yellow peoples as being inferior. They have strutted about the ports of Yokohama, Shanghai, Hongkong, and Manila as

lords among their subjects. They have fixed taxes to suit their own desires. They have swaggered through the streets and sea lanes indulging themselves in a colossal superiority complex. The judgment day has come. Japan answered, China is answering, India will answer. For the tomorrow of history, the Westerner must either treat with these Orientals upon a basis of equality of social, political and economic justice—or *fight*. There is no other platform for future negotiations. The vast stores of raw materials, the inexhaustible man power, the unparalleled capacity for enduring hardships, the renascence of national pride and confidence, the memory of long extended abuses, the ancient grudges, all of these items in the twentieth century mind of the brown and yellow races and nations of the Pacific basin are to be reckoned with. Dr. Stoddard's sordid conclusion is that this means a war of extermination and suggests that if the white man is to survive he must act promptly. Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania are critically involved in this peril. They are far to the south of the equator and geographically isolated. Their population is limited—approximately 8,000,000 people, which, as contrasted to about 600,000,000 of the darker races around them, is so overwhelming that they of necessity view with alarm this rising tide of Oriental independence. This involves the British Empire.

This involves Europe, Asia and Africa. If the whole matter is handled badly, then a war of such dimensions as has not been dreamed of will occur in the future. Extraterritoriality, tariffs, export and import, equal representation in courts, conferences and legislative bodies, where the vital interests of the Orient are involved; interracial respect, immigration laws—these are some of the vexed questions which demand a new valuation and interpretation if conciliation and co-operation are to be maintained between the Occident and the Orient and a ghastly war averted.

Happily, fairer-minded groups are entering the scene, those who have minds free enough to think dispassionately and accept great changes. Among these can be noted The Institute of Pacific Relations —of which Jerome D. Green is the Chairman of the American Council—one of the most marked and hopeful organizations of this kind. Its reports and programs are worthy of close observation by all good-will people.

Another line went across Central America from ocean to ocean. Across this line there is involved the Panama Canal: its use, its possible misuse; the proposed Nicaragua Canal, the flow of the tides of commerce between the United States and the Republics of South America; the attitudes towards vested interests, particularly American investments

in mining and oil territories; the modernization of the Monroe Doctrine as to whether it is to be a principle of affiliation in administration and definition or whether it is to be arbitrarily imposed by the Americans with threats of force for its sanction. On one side of this line as emblems of hope and confidence may well be written the name of Dwight W. Morrow and on the other side The Pan-American Conference—both apostles of fair play, friendly intercourse and mutual respect. There would be provocations enough if an older type of diplomacy were to be injected and the Conference supplanted by jingoes from each side to spell war in ten years or less.

The gentleman who is referred to in the opening of this chapter is a European. I thought he might have overlooked the border-line of more than three thousand miles which divides Canada and the United States. I called his attention to the fact that he had drawn such a line to the south of us, but not to the north. He smiled and said: "It is not necessary." In the midst of these many cross-currents of jealousies, fears, hatreds and threats, this boundary is a beacon of hope. The writers and the orators have exhausted their best efforts to portray in adequate terms this phenomenon. But too much has not been said; too much praise cannot be given. It is an open border with no physical obstruction. No

forts are built. No soldiers patrol the frontier. For over one hundred years no shot has been fired. There have been serious incidents when mediation and patience were required. No nation can live so close to the Americans and not at some time be called upon to file complaints. There are Scotchmen enough on each side to get up an argument. But good sense, arbitration, a spirit of give and take have prevailed and the fruits are peace, good will, neighbourliness. This comment might more logically have appeared elsewhere but is such a superb answer to the danger zones and the morbid views so common of ultimate results—that it is given here as an earnest parenthesis of the better relationships which ought to be everywhere.

4—*The Modern Cæsars*

This has been a brief review of those elements which threaten the continued peace of the nations. Geographical elements have been suggested. Divergent views concerning methods and forms of government and ancient cultural traditions have been noted. Essential products and materials for national existence have been considered. But the story would be incomplete if no mention were made of personalities who may upset all the provisions being made for sustained peace. There have been many periods of history when destructive wars have swept

across vast areas and none of these issues has been the basic cause. A clash of ruthless personalities has many times provoked war in the absence of anything more concrete which the historian could record. The fearful wars of the Cæsars, of Alexander and Napoleon were not for principles now being mooted. They were, for the most part, for personal glory; to satisfy conceit. Sometimes territory was involved as part of the game, but it was only incidental to the hope of some autocrat being a great conqueror and riding in the victorious chariot and hearing the plaudits of the people. These are not as dangerous as they were in an older history, but they have not entirely disappeared.

A little freedom of imagination is all that is required to understand this peril. Suppose Ludendorff of Germany, or some man of his kind, could do at some future date what he would like to do. What would he do? This question does not require a lengthy answer. He is so much in the minority in his own country that the danger is remote. But if either in his day or in that of some of his followers there seemed a chance, every treaty and pact and agreement would be a "scrap of paper," and a mighty army would sweep south and east. Had this army the power to carry through, the tricolour of France would disappear.

Suppose under some great provocation Poincaré

or his followers could do what they would like to do. What would they do? The exact form used in the previous hypothetical question can be reversed and applied here.

Suppose upon any given date in the future Mussolini could do what he would like to do. What would he do? It is not necessary to strain the imagination to answer this query. His utterances give abundant proof that he only awaits the turn of the "cycle" to march forth to conquer like a Napoleon.

Without following into details, suppose a Stalin, a Pilsudski, a Kemal Pasha, a de Rivera, a Venizelos, could do in 1929 what each would like to do. What would they do? They are powerful men; they believe in force. They are trained in a school of swords and guns. They are under terrific restraint. The glory of their names seems to be involved in winning some victory somewhere. Their patience under the status quo is not love of treaties, courts or leagues, but is enforced by limitation of military power.

If some Americans of the school of militarists could do on any tomorrow what they would like to do, what would they do? Attention has already been given to these men, but they are such a menace to world peace that they belong in this list also. The United States has a well-organized, highly financed cult who dream of Bolshevists being under our beds;

who see hordes of Japanese soldiers crossing the Rio Grande on a march to capture Washington, D. C. They hear the distant roar of the guns of the British warships opening the bombardment of Wall Street. They would build the biggest navy in the world and mobilize the biggest army and have war early for strategic reasons. They are impatient for action. They are not in love with treaties for the renunciation of war, or courts for pacific settlement of disputes. Their recent desires have been defeated by an overwhelming public sentiment and by a calm Yankee by the name of Coolidge. Their hopes now are at a low ebb in the presence of a Quaker by the name of Hoover. But they are active and seem confident that their hour will come in which the military glory will return.

The danger areas are not all on the frontiers, or in materials, or in conflicting views and principles. These high-strung, ambitious, flamboyant personalities who long for fame and adventure must be dealt with. The crusade to overthrow the war system must strip these men of their power with the people. The hypocrisy of their boasts of superior patriotism must be uncovered. They constitute a part of the danger zones and must not be overlooked in the appraisement of the entire problem.

Not only do these specific incidents and these specific areas tell of the danger zones and give am-

ple warning that the struggle for abiding peace is not over, but that it is on and that it must be continued relentlessly for many, many years to come. The utterances of great statesmen, writers, teachers and preachers form a part of the validity of the recognition of danger zones.

No man who has visited America recently from Europe has commanded more thorough-going attention for his great peace desires and his constructive methods of procedure than has Henry Wickham Steed, editor of the English *Review of Reviews,* formerly editor of the London *Times.* In one of his recent editorials he says:

"It would seem as though today the governments, if not indeed the peoples of the world, are ready neither to work nor to run risks for peace. They are thinking mainly in terms of war and are drifting toward a position in which only the date of its outbreak will be opened to doubt."

The late Marshal Foch whose spoken words, as well as his life record, leave no doubt of his abhorrence of war and his yearning for peace, said that under the present conditions the next great war will break out within fifteen years. Mussolini has three times within a few months fixed the date at 1935. Recognition of these utterances may seem to be in

striking contradiction to other things which the author is advocating. Perhaps it cannot be better explained than in the following significant utterances in a recent sermon by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson of Broadway Tabernacle, in New York City. He said:

"The world finds itself today in a most curious predicament. All the people want peace. The longed for peace fills the mind of untold millions. The longed for peace is undoubtedly more passionate and more nearly universal than at any other time in the history of the world. We Americans love peace. We do not want war. We want peace. The World War stripped off the plumes and the gold braid and we saw war naked. We beheld its innermost nature and we now know what a dirty, ghastly, hellish thing it is. We all despise war and shudder at the thought of it.

"But we face another fact; the governments of the world are thinking war, preparing for war, manufacturing instruments of war. There is no questioning this fact. There are more men under arms today than there were in 1913. More money is spent every year on armies and navies than was spent in any year before the great catastrophe. We Americans are preparing for war. We are spending three hundred twenty million dollars a year on our navy and three hundred sixty million dollars a year

on our army, a total of six hundred eighty million dollars a year on our engines of war. Great Britain is spending eight hundred sixty-four million dollars a year on her army and navy. She and the United States will spend fifteen billion dollars in ten years getting ready for war."

Danger signals are not always popular. Some people do not like to hear about them. But society is on the road to destruction when she ignores or fails to reckon with them. The nations cannot afford to be indifferent to these perils. The friends of world peace must face them squarely and work and plan accordingly.

VIII. ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

At an important function in New York City in January, 1929—important in the theme that was discussed, important in the personnel of the audience, and important because it was being radioed very widely—a former General of the United States Army, who has also held influential positions in the diplomatic service, said: "The most important thing in the world for the preservation of peace is the will to peace which exists in the United States and Great Britain. These two nations can do more to keep peace than all the rest of the world." At about the same time, a German of distinction in international affairs, when discussing some of the difficult problems in different parts of the world, said: "The most dangerous thing I see is the increasing misunderstandings and jealousies between America and Great Britain." In one form or another these two statements are being heard in many places as the opinion of many different kinds of folks. In varying degrees of accent they have been more or less prominent during the life of the American Republic. They do not present an altogether unusual problem. But they have come into a new promi-

WILL THEY EVER MEET?
—Reproduced by courtesy of the New York World

nence in the period since the signing of the Armistice. There is no value in evading this situation. It is folly for the platform orator or the fulsome publicist to say they are "only a bit of spurious imagination." This was the answer given by one of presumed authority when the question was asked in a discussion period of a forum. It is all very well to say that war between Great Britain and the United States is "unthinkable," "impossible," "too horrible." But as a matter of fact war is always just those things. No one would accuse the noble Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral of wishing for war between the two greatest English-speaking countries. He dreads it as he would any terrible catastrophe. But he thinks it is inevitable. He does not see any other result in the light of the present tendencies. He does not believe it is "impossible" or "unthinkable."

In 1860 few people in the United States anticipated war. It seemed "unthinkable" and "too horrible" that a people of so many common ties, such as having fought side by side for liberty, and saying their prayers at the same altar, and singing the same hymns, and speaking the same language, and going to the same schools, should go to war. Some knew how desperate the hour was. Robert E. Lee knew. Stonewall Jackson knew. Ulysses S. Grant knew. Abraham Lincoln knew. But the great

masses of people did not believe it. They refused to think that the issues were serious enough to provoke war. Even after the engagement at Charleston, "thirty days" at most was the limit given to quiet the unrest. But four frightful years of conflict, suffering and slaughter were awaiting the indifferent. In 1914 when the thunder clouds of war were gathering and the rumblings were terrific, most of the people said, "Oh, it will be settled. War in this age is unthinkable—impossible." Some within the vicious circle knew how appalling the situation was in July, and indeed how dangerous it had been for many months. Lord Grey knew. Clemenceau knew. Czar Nicholas knew. Colonel Edward M. House knew. Kaiser Wilhelm II knew. But most folks just did not know. Four years of unparalleled destruction were before them.

There are serious differences in economic and political questions before these two Anglo-Saxon nations. They have grown more acute in recent years, or at least are more discussed than they were for many years before the war. The people of the United States hold the Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Labour leader and Prime Minister of Great Britain, in high esteem. They know him to be a generous friend of peace. He does not find it necessary in his utterances to explain his peace principles. They are apparent. He is a friend of America; he does

not want war. Therefore, his statement that, "the relations between the United States and Great Britain grow increasingly unhappy," that these relations are "in a bad way," is of tremendous moment. He says: "The plain fact is that a spirit is growing up in the two countries which is estranging them, and is encouraging a kind of squabbling criticism which destroys mutual understanding and forbearance. What each of our nations requires at this moment is a good robust call from manly common sense." It is not dangerous to face these questions squarely. It is dangerous to let them drift along without adjustment. Whatever these issues are, they are not impossible of solution if they are fairly stated and openly dealt with.

It may be well to inquire why such peculiar importance is attached to the relationships of Great Britain and the United States in keeping peace. Why not say Great Britain and France, or Italy, or Germany, or Russia? Why not say the United States and Brazil, or Japan, or China? A superficial view would seem to make war far more probable between some of these countries than between Britain and America. And yet this Anglo-American question takes first place in the discussion. What are the peculiar conditions which cause this unusual importance to be attached to the relations of these nations as forces for continued peace or as possible

provokers of world war? There always appears a sort of deep and peculiar emotion when the friendly relations or possible discords between these Anglo-Saxon nations are spoken of. Not only do the common folks of Great Britain and the United States seem to presume that friendship between these countries ought to be maintained, but everybody else expects it. The author wrote the General, to whom reference was made, and asked him to give reasons for the statement made concerning these nations being the key to permanent peace. He answered: "In the first place, they are the two most powerful nations in the world to-day, and therefore any similarity of point of view between those two peoples should have more weight than the divided view of any of the lesser nations." It is highly probable that most people would accept this statement as one valid and thoroughly fair to all other nations. Without offence to any nation large or small, it is apparent that if the English-speaking states should unite in a permanent program for world peace, the combined influence would be so great that the plan would meet universal approval. As a matter of fact, this point was definitely demonstrated at the Three-Power Naval Conference at Geneva in 1927. The crux of that situation was that these two nations could not agree. Britain wanted 6,000-ton cruisers with six-inch guns. America wanted a ton-

nage test with 10,000-ton cruisers carrying eight-inch guns. To the outside world the difference did not seem great enough to block the whole procedure. It is well known that Japan would have accepted either basis. But the English-speaking groups could not, or would not, yield. They did not agree. This brought disaster, failure to that conference at a time when the whole world sorely needed the moral effect of further reduction and limitation of naval armaments.

In a recent interview with Viscount Cecil he told me of the intense efforts of the Japanese delegates to harmonize the British and Americans in this conference. He said the Japanese worked for days to find some possible basis of agreement which these two English-speaking countries would accept. The same thing occurred again at Geneva in 1929. If the British and United States representatives had joined in a specific plan there would have been no delay in its adoption by the Commission. Once more they would not or could not agree.

It is not likely that any future conferences will appreciably succeed unless these two nations in advance can get some basis of harmony. Naval armaments, land armaments, air craft, submarines, poisonous gases and every other man-destroying device will increase until that indispensable Anglo-American consent can be insured.

The general referred to above also said, "In the second place, they are the two greatest trading nations, and therefore, *ipso facto,* have a greater interest in preserving peace than any of the other lesser trading nations." I do not think he meant that generally speaking the peoples of these countries have superior moral passion for peace beyond others. Certainly that would not be true if compared to the Orient. But the economic interests between these countries are so tremendous that they make their demand for peace upon the trade routes, at the custom houses and at the docks where the ships load or unload. If at one time in history financial gain was an apologetic for war between Britain and America, the weight of that argument has been reversed now. The financiers of England and America know now that war between these countries under present conditions would be economic suicide for both sides.

He said, "In the third place, perhaps the most important of all possible reasons is that both have a similarity of mental attitude toward religion and especially because that religion is a peace-loving one." No doubt the larger number who find it impossible to envisage war between these English-speaking countries have their faith underwritten by the force of "common language," "common moral ideals," and far and beyond all else a "common religion." I have been going to and fro over the

Atlantic Ocean since 1896. The intervals between voyages have been short. All along in those friendly intercourses of luncheons, dinners, teas and home hospitalities these arguments for "hands across the sea" to our "cousins" have been the regulation ones advanced. In similar events, when Britains have been guests in America, these slogans have been used plus those superlatives which abound in the United States. Whatever else may have been said, the ties of speech, education and religion were made of paramount consideration.

A significant paragraph appears as a general comment, which in justice to the friend who wrote these reasons, ought to be included. The logic of its inclusion at this point may not be perfect, but it has a distinct relation to the entire chapter: "Please notice that throughout all my remarks I spoke not of the attitude of governments but of the people who are behind the governments. In no other nations in the world are the governments so responsive to the real feeling of the people on any given subject as are those of the United States and the British Empire, which, in itself, is a potent factor for peace. It is very seldom that peoples desire to go to war unless led up to it by their governments, which sometimes regard this as the only means of retaining the political control that they happen to be enjoying." Underneath this is one

more illustration of the wide difference between statesmen and politicians and the home folks. An illustration also of the power of public opinion in countries so strongly dominated by democratic methods of government. These are comprehensive reasons for the first statement quoted bearing upon the importance of the will to peace between these peoples so intimately interlocked in world affairs. They are not the only ones, but they are sufficient for the purposes of this chapter.

Before passing to the more serious aspect of these attitudes, one principle of absolute certainty must be emphasized. Amicable relations between the states under discussion are not to be deemed of such vast importance as some have indicated, because the two in combination could dominate or rule the rest of the world. I have heard an American, who perhaps was not too friendly to Britain, say, "Well, I guess we better chum along with those British, for the two of us can lick all the rest of the world." I have heard Britons, who ought to have known better, advance the same argument as a first reason for good will between these countries. It is a farce to make plans for friendly co-operation between London and Washington if that objective is anywhere under cover. In the new world the Britons have got to stop singing "Rule, Britannia" and the Americans must cease shouting

"America First." Both countries must get rid of this arrogant, insulting boastfulness. Britain is not going to rule the world. America is not going to rule the world. The two combined are not going to rule the world. An aroused humanity once answered an Alexander, a Julius Cæsar, a Napoleon, and a Kaiser Wilhelm II. It has not changed its mind. It will not be deceived by any sinister "Anglo-Saxon Agreement." There may be some in Downing Street, London, and on Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, who would welcome such a compact as a sort of twentieth century "Holy Alliance," but the world would regard it as a devilish alliance and an unfriendly act. Notwithstanding all the conceit of mind, body and bank account of the English-speaking races, it is well to remember that numerically they have less than 400,000,000 population, as against over 1,250,000,000 who speak other languages. This billion and a quarter is not likely to surrender its hopes of liberty and justice just to indulge the Anglo-Saxons in a pet idea of ruling the world. The friendship being advocated is for world service, good will to all, justice before the law, and as a new bond for extending world brotherhood.

Returning to the main argument bearing upon the ominous rumblings upon either side of the sea, and being heard to a considerable measure in other

parts of the world, the second quotation—the one by the German—is more serious. If the strained relations constitute a menace to world peace, and if these relations are not as amicable as they seemed to have been five and ten years ago, what may be the causes or reasons? No single incident can be referred to which of itself would cover this question. The points of difference and friction between the two countries are old and numerous. There may occur from time to time circumstances which seem to renew the tension. But many an "ancient grudge" is being harboured on both sides. The United States never had a war with Russia, France, Italy, or any other European state, save a very limited one with Spain, and a terrible one with Germany in 1917-1918. Some Americans think that the fact of two wars having been fought with Great Britain constitutes ground for permanent animosity. Chicago has a famous mayor who thinks the war with King George III ought to be fought over again. This species in American politics probably never heard of Burke, or Pitt, or the gracious Queen Victoria. Although seventy years have passed since the crisis of the Civil War, there are yet political speeches made in the United States which burn and roar about the *Alabama*. As a matter of fact, every American seems to remember that the British once burned Washington. But very few of them have

even been told that the Americans once burned Toronto. And this general principle of magnifying the unfavourable and suppressing the favourable incidents in newspapers and histories has been in fashion for all the years since 1776. Against these there are corresponding ones rehearsed upon the British Isles. The war of 1812, it is said even now by some Englishmen, was precipitated with no issue except to help Napoleon and remember Lafayette. Geographical boundaries and their final adjustments are talked about yet in clubs in London. The disappointments which followed the Versailles conference of 1919 are not forgotten. A rather complete catalogue of the older strains is to be found in Owen Wister's *The Ancient Grudge*. The later ones are familiar.

In appraising this suggested war menace in British-American attitudes, it is important to remember that family quarrels are often the most desperate and uncompromising. There are more blood kinships between the British Isles and America than with all the other nations of the world combined. More than fifty per cent of the Americans register in the census-taking as being of English-Scotch-Welsh or Irish descent. But while blood is thicker than water, when it boils it gets wild in fomentation. We may say the same prayers, sing the same hymns, but we do not say or sing alike. We are decidedly

different. The "cousin" speech or poem business may be a fine sentiment and a beautiful courtesy, but it fails to answer and satisfy a grievance, whether logical or imagined. The blood was not thick enough to prevent war in 1776 or in 1812. It will not be again if a provocation severe enough arises in the future.

Beyond all the concrete cases where economic and political discords must be adjudicated by the recognized methods, there is a marked inability of the average American to understand the average Britisher, and vice versa. One has been tempted sometimes to believe that this difference in types represents the most permanent and delicate discord to be reckoned with. Only a small percentage of the people of the British Isles have ever been to the United States, or ever will come. And notwithstanding the increasing number of Americans who cross the Atlantic Ocean annually, the percentage of the entire population who have or will make such a voyage is exceedingly small. Not only is the percentage small of those from each side who come into personal contacts with the other country, but unfortunately not all who do make these visits return home as apostles of friendship. Some of them are the bitterest dispensers of ill will. The utter misconceptions upon both sides are discouraging to say the least. Every time an English band or orchestra

plays "God Save the King" our "Main Street" Americans think it a threat of war and they enjoy the recreation of rehearsing English hatreds and suspicions. Likewise, many an Englishman finds his highest satisfaction in describing Americans as coarse, untutored chaps, filled with a passion to buy up the world and run it on up-to-date lines. Illustrations of these misinterpretations could be multiplied, but their repetition would be of no value. The lesson is just this: these unfavourable eccentricities do exist. They are an easy "fifty-fifty" in ratio. They must be met by patient endeavour; corrected or understood as rapidly as possible. They must not be permitted to excite hatred. Humour is their best answer.

If one wishes a concrete illustration of this wide difference in the current view of a certain type of Briton and another type of American, it can be found in contrasting the interpretations of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 by Winston Churchill in his book *Aftermath,* and the one by Ray Stannard Baker in his volume *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement.*

After giving full recognition to the fact that they represent two entirely different political theories, their conflicting conclusions are enormous. Winston Churchill was, and is, a Conservative de luxe. He believes in force; he believes that to the victors

belong the spoils. Ray Stannard Baker was, and is, an extreme liberal. He would impose no penalties upon the defeated.

But after taking these elements into account, the attitudes they reveal are a serious part of the Anglo-Saxon relationships. Mr. Churchill does not think President Wilson brought much real moral idealism to the Peace Conference. He does not think Mr. Wilson was the real author of the Covenant of the League of Nations. He is quite certain it was of British origin. He proves, to his own satisfaction, that the first suggestion about "Self-determination" was German and that it was then perfected by a Britisher. He thinks the President did not facilitate the signing of the treaty, but that his stubborn manners retarded it by several months.

Ray Stannard Baker was sure Woodrow Wilson took into the Paris Conference room all the moral idealism that ever did get in. He is certain that Mr. Wilson had to deal with representatives of nations devoid of any noble aspirations for world welfare. He was positive that the President was the Alpha of the League of Nations. He hints that the President was also the Omega of the League so far as America is concerned. He believed the doctrine of "Self-determination" had its genesis in Mr. Wilson's heart. If he could have had his way, he would have had this part of the Fourteen Points

included in the Bible with proper recognition of the author. He gave the President full credit for every notable event in the entire Peace Conference. He knew the British delegation was opposed to all of these more humanitarian features.

The better-informed in each country know that the conclusions of either of these gentlemen are not to be accepted as indicative of the attitude of the people generally. But each of them has a wide influence and is a menace to those more intimate understandings which are so vital to good will.

This reference to the disquieting effect of the writings of two such men as Mr. Churchill and Mr. Baker is not made for the purpose of overemphasizing their peculiar utterances, but rather to direct attention to this incident which unfortunately is being duplicated in newspapers and platform utterances. They are not dangerous, they are fearfully exasperating, and are a part of the problem.

Americans ought to be reminded often that when the Great War was over, Britain walked up to the American government and said in substance, "Look at the books; tell us what we owe. Give us the best rate of interest possible. We will pay." They signed the agreement without quibbling. They never asked to have their obligation cancelled. They would resent the offer now. It is not strange that they are more or less grieved to learn through later

developments that they are paying a rate of interest higher than any other of the larger countries which borrowed from us. In view of the fact that they got no appreciable reduction in funding, they might reasonably have asked for the lowest rate. Their national debt, due almost entirely to the war, is stupendous—about forty billion dollars. The average Briton is paying at the present time 20 per cent of his entire income and the wealthier is paying 40 to 50 per cent as an income tax. Some reach as high as 60 per cent. The average American is paying 2 per cent and asking for rapid reduction. Americans generally do not know these facts, or have forgotten them. It is a part of the immediate problem to make them known.

The Americans also ought to be reminded of the British attitude in Manila Bay in 1898. To all those who have taken the care to know the facts, the German Navy was without doubt ordered to interfere with Admiral Dewey's plan at that port. But the friendship of the British Navy made that impossible, and prevented what would otherwise have been a World War then.

Wars sometimes are brought about by big issues, but they can be fought just as desperately over little things. Britain and the United States might get into war over the irritating contrast given by Lord Bryce, "The offensively supercilious attitude of the

English or the self-assertive arrogance of the American." I have seen Americans who would want to fight some of this exasperating kind of Englishmen. I have many times wondered why the Englishmen did not fight some of these raw swaggering, blustering, boastful Americans.

Some Englishmen get so wrought up when they see an American chewing gum that they could start a war about the habit if they felt sure it would be successful. And when he says "I guess" they go clear mad. Some Americans get mad enough to fight when they meet a Piccadilly Englishman with white spats, a monocle and a gold-headed walking-stick swaggering along like the Lord of heaven and earth and hear him utter "I say, old chappie."

Common bonds of prayer, language and poems about "our cousins" lose their charm when these two meet. Of course, to the serious-minded these and many other idiosyncrasies are passed by in humour. But add up their total for a period of years and they become a real liability to permanent concord.

Among the recent incidents which have without any doubt added to the suspicions in America was the so-called Franco-British secret military agreement. Much has been written about it. Little more need be said, but it is useless to attempt to brush it aside as being of small importance. Upon close observation and consideration of the methods em-

ployed in the negotiations and of the utterances so far as they are known in the agreement itself, it does not seem that this agreement was particularly sinister. Certainly there is no evidence that it was exclusively directed at America. The fact is, it may be called just a hangover of the old diplomacy. It was the old method all too commonly employed in both Great Britain and France; but the effect was serious in the United States, and the most unfortunate part of it was that it gave the ranters of the type of the famous mayor of Chicago exactly the kind of argument they wanted. They have rolled it over like a sweet morsel, and have made many people believe that this was a part of a deep-laid scheme by which Great Britain and France were preparing to attack the United States; and unfortunately, some of the references which have since been made by men in public affairs in Great Britain, in which they have attempted to laugh it out of court, have not helped the situation. It is a pity that the number of Americans who were kept informed of how strongly this negotiation was condemned by the British press was so small. The following extract from an article written by Henry Wickham Steed, one of England's ablest men, is typical of many sentiments written or spoken during the period of the controversy.

"How M. Briand and Sir Austen Chamberlain could have negotiated the Anglo-French Compromise, at the very time when they were making up their minds to sign the Peace Pact, is a mystery still unexplained. At best, they showed inability to understand the divergent tendencies of two concurrent policies."

But for some strange reason comments of this kind were not quoted conspicuously in the American press. In this connection, however, it should be remembered that that secret agreement was abandoned; it was abolished by the pressure of public opinion throughout the British Commonwealth. Not only did the people of the immediate British Isles protest, but Australia, New Zealand and Canada united in a demand for the recall of the document.

Just now the strain is acute by reason of naval statements, proposals and threats which are being passed back and forth with no noble intent underneath them. Some of these emanating from men in public life are downright vicious.

The following statement by United States Senator William E. Borah is worthy of deep consideration by all serious-minded people who have at heart the preservation of friendly, cordial relations among the nations, and particularly with Great Britain. In the debate which took place upon the Fifteen Cruiser

bill in January, 1929, when answering some of the jingo Senators who were demanding the biggest navy in the world, and were frantically intimating that a war with Great Britain was only a question of time, and Admiral Plunkett was quoted as saying this navy would be needed for the war with Great Britain, Senator Borah said:

"These statements put out by naval officers are notice to all the world, and particularly to Great Britain, to get ready for war. They are being so interpreted throughout the world. I regard such declarations as mischievous to the last degree.

"Even if these men have worked themselves into this state of mind, it is incredible that they should state their views publicly.

"Those who must pay the taxes and do the fighting and dying in case these people succeed in bringing on war, ought not to delay in taking part in this programme. They are entitled to be heard before this mad policy becomes fixed.

"A few days ago an Admiral in the English navy put out a similar statement. If anything could possibly bring on war between two great nations it is these enlarged naval programmes in connection with declarations from the navies of the respective countries that war is inevitable.

"This was the insane policy which obtained be-

tween Germany and Great Britain from 1900 to 1914, and which was one of the great contributing causes to the World War."

If the United States and Great Britain want war, all they need to do is to call a conference and put in a prominent place in the conference room about three dogmatic Britishers whose names could easily be mentioned, and ex-Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, former Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri, and Admiral Plunkett, representing the United States. Give these six men unlimited opportunity to talk with their traditional bitterness, their evident belief in war as a noble function and their peculiar animosity for the other nation, and all talk about hands across the sea, our cousins over there, our common traditions of language and education, of politics and religion will disappear and the war will be on. These men would not truly represent the sentiment of their countries, but they do represent a type, they have a following.

Whether the German friend had in mind the world consequences of such a catastrophe as a war between the English-speaking races I am not informed. But if such an outbreak should take place there would be no neutral nations. Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries did preserve neutrality from 1914 to 1918. It was very difficult

and had that conflict continued for many more months they would have been drawn in. But if Britain and America should be at war, the whole world would be in. There would be no escape. Occident and Orient, the small and the great, would be compelled to fall in. British areas are around the world. American wealth is around the world. Each would fight the other at every port. It would be a real world war. And the destruction would be universal. The consequences beggar description and imagination.

In full recognition of all of the unhappy irritating conditions which do exist and in further recognition of the fact that these conditions constitute a real peril, a positive danger to the peace, not only of these two countries, but of the world, there is a strong basis of hope for those who are engaged in preserving good will between these countries and in extending its wider possibilities of world service.

Severance of friendly relations with these Anglo-Saxon nations in view of present tendencies is not "impossible" or "unthinkable" but it must be made so by serious sustained effort. The advantages which the advocates of concord have must be strengthened and enlarged.

The author, with a considerable knowledge of the facts upon both sides of the sea, believes the peace sentiment can be made stronger than any war threat.

There are more people and institutions and implements saying "No" to the threat, than are yielding to despair. In the first place, the doctrine of the abolition of war has been powerfully preached in both countries for ten years. Many anxious periods have been encountered in the past century. Many threats have been heard. Provocations would have been sufficient for declarations of war had the restraining influences been less effective. The triumphs of patience, mutual consideration of divergent views, conciliation and arbitration give a sound theory upon which the present "unhappy" conditions and all future complications may be regarded with hopeful expectations for similar results. Keep the hotheads out of the conference rooms. Let men of faith in peace be the spokesmen.

One incident in the long story of diplomacy between the two countries, and which has never been given adequate prominence, may have played an important part in the century and more of peace. Following the war of 1812 with its frail treaty and undetermined boundaries, both nations began to arm; each for the protection of its frontier. This was natural. It had been the custom of all nations on their boundaries. The strategic centre was the Great Lakes of North America. A feverish haste for the construction of gunboats and warships was evidenced upon both sides. It was a competition

in naval armaments. It was the law of the jungle. But the impoverished exchequers compelled a conference for limiting these expenditures. The "Rush-Bagot Agreement" or Treaty of 1817 was the result. In passing it may be noted that this was one of more than a dozen similar conciliatory events which have kept the peace during all the intervening years between the Dominion of Canada, as a part of the British Commonwealth, and the United States of America. At first the treaty called for "reduction" of actual "police" necessities. Little by little gun-bearing ships disappeared, and for over one hundred years not one has been seen upon any of those waters. Had that competition gone forward, it would probably have meant war. At least it would have made resort to war easier and more plausible at several critical periods since 1812. The absence of weapons of warfare made it necessary for the governments to accept arbitration of many vexatious issues. They were forced to use their brains instead of powder, dynamite and bullets. This 1817 agreement was by no means the last occasion for the use of pacific methods for settling delicate and dangerous issues between these two nations.

There have been provocations enough since 1812 to have produced several wars between the British and the Americans had it not been for the interven-

tion of men who were patient and who had faith in the justice of arbitration and conciliation. Neither nation is bereft now of men of this same spirit. Their type must be kept in prominent places when discords are to be discussed.

Professor Dunning, in his book *The British Empire and the United States,* has given the detailed account of these incidents a dozen or more of which might easily have resulted in war in the absence of a determined effort to preserve peace.

The Oregon boundary line in 1844 seemed to be a situation which only war could adjust. Alaska has not been an easy question for the statesmen of the two countries to compose amicably. Upon several occasions war would have been the easy and rather popular way out.

Nicaragua has offered more than one solemn threat of war. Venezuela has upon two occasions promised to create war possibilities, particularly in the broad expanding definition of the Monroe Doctrine which was set forth in President Cleveland's administration. Fishing rights in the Bering Sea have brought about acute conditions in which war might have been possible. Water power rights at Niagara Falls as between Canada and the United States, which would have involved the British Commonwealth, might have been the cause of war if the hot-heads had been in power. Even as late as 1916

the old frictions about the liberty of the sea might have caused a breach in Anglo-American co-operation which would have meant world disaster. But in all of these crises an orderly way has been found and war has been averted. Treaties have been written before the slaughter instead of afterward. It is a worthy suggestion for the future, it is an added evidence that there is developing a new psychology, a new temperament, a new pacifism.

An overwhelming majority of the Britons and Americans just simply do not intend to be dragooned into another vortex of human slaughter and moral debauch with anybody, much less between themselves. The politicians who talk glibly of war with Britain or war with America haven't heard from home. The militarists who love sword rattling and blood shedding may know tonnage of warships and the technique of transporting armies and the military value of the aeroplane and the submarine, but they are strangely ignorant of the deep-determined mind of the people not to resort to war again. I know America. Her people do not wish to be bullied into a war with Great Britain. I know the people of the British Isles, of Australasia and of Canada better than does the average American. They do not wish to be dragooned into a war with America. The people of these two nations lived under a system of force which was accepted as a

matter of course in 1776, 1812 and 1914. But if the politicians should quarrel behind the scenes and declare another war, there would not be prisons enough in the whole world to care for the "slackers." There may be serious disputes but when war is proposed as a matter of adjustment, the people say: *"No."* The friendships on each side say "No" to such possible recourse for the present difficulties or for future ones.

As already stated, Americans and Britains do not know each other as well as they might, but, fortunately, thousands of people are annually crossing the Atlantic both ways. Most of them have made contacts, formed friendships with people for whom they cherish highest regard. Immense numbers of cousins, aunts, uncles, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters are on the "other side of the Atlantic." Ten and twenty ships per day leave New York, Boston, Liverpool and Southampton for the other country. This is a well-advanced twentieth century; it is not 1812. If war seemed probable, the friends would be telephoning to London and Washington calling upon their friends and relatives to protest against such a disaster. The cables would burn with appeals for peace. Lindbergh, the Prince of the Air and the embodiment of good will, would wrap up three more sandwiches and fly the "Spirit of St. Louis" again as a swift messenger of peace.

During the period of sharp discussion about naval parity, the address of Sir Austen Chamberlain at the dinner given in Birmingham in honour of Ambassador Houghton, was exceedingly helpful in the United States and one statement is a basic asset for all time. He said in part:

"Here in Britain we pride ourselves on our loyalty to friendship. I said in this town not so long ago that this country would not sacrifice an old friend to a new one. It was a phrase which, taken in connection with another subject, was misunderstood in some quarters of America.

"I repeat to-night that we have no nearer or dearer friendship than our friendship with the United States. As we seek to be loyal to other friends, so we will seek to be loyal to that nation which is nearest and most akin in racial and moral outlook of all the nations of the world."

The friendship indispensable would say "No" to another war.

The hard-headed good sense of commerce would say "No." Those giants of economics have an attitude toward war which does not hold much in resemblance to older views. They have changed since 1914. They know that a war between these two peoples would mean bankruptcy to the whole world.

If such an event seemed imminent and the old guard of war makers began releasing their standard cries about "national honour" and "vital interests" through their well-paid and organized publicity bureaus, the Owen D. Youngs, the J. P. Morgans, the Harvey Firestones, the Henry Fords in America would have to be reckoned with. The war makers have a well-developed nomenclature with which to answer ministers and college presidents when they are setting their machinery at work to bring on the brutal crash. But they do not have a set technique with which they may hope to throttle the modern business man. This protest of great business would register in New York. It would register in London. The governors of the Bank of England would hold an important conference with the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Admiralty. Before war could be declared between these kindred countries, the modern bankers and manufacturers would say "No" in a language which these boasting militarists would understand.

The new implements of friendliness and understanding say "No" to war. Free from too much publicity, the committees for "interchange of speakers" between these nations are faithfully disseminating anti-war sentiment. The English Committee with Sir Albert Spicer as its Honorary Chairman and G. Campbell Lee as its Administrative Chair-

man with headquarters at 1, Brick Court, Middle Temple, London, is inviting annually some of America's greatest pulpit and platform men to be their guests and to speak and confer upon permanent principles of co-operation between these two peoples. The American Committee with Dr. S. Parkes Cadman as Chairman, is doing a similar work in bringing great personalities from the British Isles to the United States. The accumulating effect is tremendous. To all the threats of war, these influences say emphatically "No." The two branches of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, the one with headquarters at 41, Parliament Street, London, and the other at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, are in intimate contact with each other. They are seeking to anticipate the points of friction and counteract them by friendly messages and plans. They have in the memberships and executive committees many of the ablest men of each country in education, politics and religion. To every threat of war, they answer "No." Through the good offices of Sir Henry Lunn, a joint committee of public men of each country has been organized to work in this specific field of abiding friendly methods between Britain and America. The work of this joint committee is so significant and may be of such inestima-

ble value that the personnel is worth consideration as a matter of record.

FOR GREAT BRITAIN

Rev. Cyril Alington, Headmaster of Eton
Sir Maurice Sheldon Amos
Viscount Astor
Viscountess Astor, M.P.
Lord Balfour of Burleigh
The Master of Balliol
Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P.
The Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton, M.P.
Lady Violet Bonham Carter
Sidney Dark
The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.
A. G. Gardiner
J. L. Garvin, Editor of the *Observer*
The Rev. Dr. Hutton, Editor of the *British Weekly*
Earl of Iddesleigh
Admiral Mark Kerr
Philip Kerr
W. T. Layton, Editor of the *Economist*
The Rev. Dr. Scott Lidgett
The Bishop of London
Vice-Admiral Drury Lowe
Earl of Lytton
Sir Donald Maclean
Harold Macmillan, M.P.

Professor Gilbert Murray
Dr. Cyril Norwood, Headmaster of Harrow
Lord Parmour
Chief Rabbi J. H. Hertz, Ph.D.
The Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P.
Mrs. Walter Runciman, M.P.
The Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, M.P.
The Rev. Dr. Carnegie Simpson
J. A. Spender
Wickham Steed, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*
Lord Thompson
The Bishop of Winchester
The Rev. Dr. Herbert B. Workman
Evelyn Wrench, Editor of the *Spectator*

FOR THE UNITED STATES

The Hon. James M. Beck, late Attorney-General
Dr. Elmer Brown, President, New York University
The Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, formerly President, Federal Council, Churches of Christ in America
The Hon. Josephus Daniels, former Secretary of the Navy
Dr. Norman Davis, former Under-Secretary of State
Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, President, Institute of Political Education

Dr. Livingston Farrand, President, Cornell University

Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, former President, Brown University

Dr. John H. Finley, Editor of the *New York Times*

The Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Minister, Riverside Church, New York

The Rt. Rev. Dr. James E. Freeman, Bishop of Washington

Dr. J. G. Hibben, President, Princeton University

The Hon. David Franklin Houston, former Secretary of the Treasury

Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan Company, Bankers

The Rt. Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, Bishop of New York

The Rev. Dr. C. C. Morrison, Editor of the *Christian Century*

The Hon. Elihu Root, former Secretary of State

Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of the American *Review of Reviews*

The Hon. G. Wickersham, late Attorney-General

Bishop William F. McDowell, M. E. Church, Washington, D.C.

Lucius C. Clark, Chancellor, American University

Dr. Frederick Lynch, Author

Dr. William P. Merrill, Minister, Brick Presbyterian Church, New York

Haley Fiske, late President, Metropolitan Insurance Company, New York

Dr. Fred B. Smith, Chairman, Executive Com., World Alliance for Int. Friendship through the Churches

Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, Editor of the *Forum,* New York

George A. Plimpton, Ginn & Company, New York

Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago

Dr. Manley O. Hudson, Law School, Harvard University

James G. McDonald, Chairman of the Foreign Policy Association, New York

Robert J. Caldwell, New York

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, former Ambassador to Turkey

Hon. Theo. Marburg, former Ambassador to Belgium

General Tasker H. Bliss, War Department, Washington, D.C.

Maj.-Gen. Henry T. Allen, War Department, Washington, D.C.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, President, Federal Council, Churches of Christ in America

Hon. John W. Davis, former Ambassador to Great Britain

Henry W. Taft, Attorney, New York

Frank J. Goodnow, President, Johns Hopkins University
Mrs. F. Louis Slade
Roland Morris, former Ambassador to Japan
Miss Gertrude Ely, Publicist, New York
Dr. Hamilton Holt, President, Rollins College
Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Director, American Geographical Society
Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior
Paul D. Cravath, Attorney, New York
Hon. Chester H. Rowell, Editor, San Francisco
Charles H. Strong, Secy. of the Bar Association of the City of New York

This committee predicates its existence not only upon a negative answer to the peril of war between these nations but to active work to anticipate possible friction and by conference and discussion to remove the causes. Its power for the preservation and extension of friendly co-operative relations is inestimable.

Latterly the most powerful evidence of the determined effort to preserve peace between Great Britain and the United States has been evidenced by the joint message which was prepared by the American Section of the World Alliance for International Friendship and the British Section of the World Alliance and signed by the most representative leaders of the churches, synagogues and re-

ligious organizations in both countries. The following is the text of the message:

"We whose names are attached hereto, in loyalty to our respective countries and in the conviction that the welfare of each country is linked indissolubly with friendship for the other, unite in the following message, with the earnest hope that it may help to crystallize the thoughts which we believe are forming among multitudes of men and women in Great Britain and the United States.

"We believe that the time has come when the world must have done with war in fact, in expectation, and in planning.

"We believe that another collision between great nations would be an assault upon civilization and an offense against God, and we believe that the intelligence and the conscience of this generation are able to build the structure of a permanent peace.

"We hail, as a standard around which the thought and will of the world can rally, the Multilateral Treaty against war, signed by representatives of Great Britain and the United States and others of the great nations, renouncing war and embodying the pledge of the signatory nations that 'the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be,

which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.'

"We believe that our nations when they signed this pledge meant what they said, and that a growing determination to make the Treaty effective must lift it above all doubt and contradiction.

"We believe that the paramount obligation of political leaders in our respective governments is to shape the policies and programs of these countries in accord with the Treaty renouncing war, to the end that the whole psychology of supposedly hostile interests and competitive armaments may be transformed into the creative faith which shall build and strengthen those arbitral treaties, courts of justice, and covenants between the nations by which peace can be assured.

"As patriots, loyal to the solemn promise of our respective countries to renounce war, and as believers in a better future for the world which our nations can help to assure, we hereby pledge ourselves, as individuals, to accept in spirit and in fact the words of the Treaty which we have already quoted; to discountenance any and all expressions or acts which contemplate as possible the use of any but pacific means for the settlement of disputes or conflicts; and to do our utmost to rally all men and women of good will to unite with us in this same determination."

This, as indicated, had one hundred and eighty-six signatures. The following signed the document:

FOR GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:

Rev. George Armitage
Rev. M. E. Aubrey, Gen. Secretary, Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland
Rev. J. C. Bacon, St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Enfield
Rev. J. T. Barkby, Hon. Secretary London Forward Movement
Very Rev. G. K. A. Bell, Dean of Canterbury, Bishop-elect of Chichester
Rev. F. H. Benson, Chairman, Birmingham District Wesleyan Methodist Church
Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Birmingham
Rev. W. E. Blomfield, Late President, Rawdon College
Rev. Carey Bonner, Gen. Secretary, National Sunday School Union
Rev. David Brook
Rev. Charles Brown
Rev. David S. Cairns, Principal, United Free Church College, Aberdeen
Rev. Dr. J. C. Carlisle, Editor *Baptist Times.*
Rev. Henry Carter, Gen. Secretary, Temperance

and Social Welfare Department of Wesleyan Methodist Church

Rev. R. Nicol Cross, First Presbyterian Church, Belfast

Rt. Hon. and Most Rev. Lord Davidson of Lambeth, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury

Rev. J. Tyssul Davis, The Theistic Church, London

Rev. W. H. Drummond, Secretary, Hibbert Trust

Rev. A. S. Duncan-Jones, Vicar of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, London

Rev. H. Dunnico, Secretary, International Peace Society

Rev. T. G. Dunning, Director of Education, Temperance and Social Service, Baptist Union

Very Rev. W. Moore Ede, Dean of Worcester

Rev. W. Thompson Elliott, Vicar of Leeds

Rev. Archibald Fleming, Minister of St. Columba's Church of Scotland, London

Rev. A. E. Garvie, Principal of Hackney and New College, London; Moderator, Federal Council of Free Churches of England

Rev. R. C. Gillie

Bishop Charles Gore, Formerly Bishop of Oxford

Rev. H. Gow, Warden of Manchester College, Oxford

Rev. J. T. Gurney, Chairman, Liverpool District, Wesleyan Methodist Church

Very Rev. J. H. Hertz, Chief Rabbi

Rt. Rev. B. O. F. Heywood, formerly Bishop of Southwell

General E. J. Higgins, Salvation Army

Rev. H. Hornabrook

Rev. S. W. Hughes, Westbourne Park Baptist Church, London

Rev. T. Ferrier Hulme, Chairman of Bristol and Bath District Wesleyan Methodist Church

Rev. J. A. Hutton, Editor of *The British Weekly*

Very Rev. W. R. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's

Rev. L. P. Jacks, Principal, Manchester College, Oxford

Very Rev. Bede Jarrett, English Provincial of the Dominican Order

Ven. H. J. Johnson, Archdeacon of Armagh

Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Manchester

Rev. J. D. Jones, Ex-Moderator, Federal Council of Free Churches

Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Kilmore

Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, Welsh Tabernacle, King's Cross, London

Rev. T. Lewis, Principal, Memorial College, Brecon

Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, Warden of Bermondsey Settlement

Rev. J. W. Lightley, President, Wesleyan Conference

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Liverpool

R. W. Livingston, Vice-Chancellor, Queen's University, Belfast

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of London

Rev. W. P. G. MacCormick, Vicar of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, Chaplain to H. M. the King

Rev. W. R. Maltby, Warden, Deaconess College, Ilkley

Rev. H. C. Mander

Rev. Alex. Martin, Principal, New College, Edinburgh. Moderator of General Assembly of United Free Church of Scotland

Rev. Father C. C. Martindale, Chairman of the Federation of British Catholic University Societies

Rev. J. Mitchell, Moderator, Church of Scotland

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Monmouth

Rev. T. Nightingale, Secretary, National Free Church Council

Very Rev. W. Foxley Norris, Dean of Westminster

Rev. F. W. Norwood, Minister, City Temple, London

Rev. J. W. Oman, Principal, Westminster College, Cambridge

Rev. W. E. Orchard, Minister, King's Weigh House, London

Rev. K. L. Parry, Chorlton Road Congregational Church, Manchester

Rev. A. S. Peake, Professor of Biblical Exegesis

in University of Manchester. Ex-President, National Free Church Council

Rev. T. Phillips, President, National Council of Evangelical Free Churches

Rev. Randall Phillips, President, Irish Methodist Church

Ven. M. J. Porteus, Archdeacon of Kilmore

Rev. Arthur Pringle

Rev. Owen Prys

Rev. A. Ramsay

Rev. C. E. Raven, Canon of Liverpool and Chaplain to H. M. the King

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon, President of British Council of World Alliance

Rev. J. H. Ritson

Rev. Dr. Ivor J. Roberton, St. James Presbyterian Church, Bristol

Rev. W. L. Robertson, Gen. Secretary, Presbyterian Church of England

Rev. T. Guy Rogers, Rector of Birmingham, Hon. Canon of Birmingham and Chaplain to H. M. the King

Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, Gen. Secretary of Baptist World Alliance

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury

Rev. C. Anderson Scott, Westminster College, Cambridge

Rev. J. A. Sharp, President-elect, National Free Church Council

Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard, Late Vicar of St. Martins-in-the-Fields

Rev. Carnegie Simpson, Westminster College, Cambridge

Rev. G. A. Smith, Principal and Vice Chancellor, University of Aberdeen

Rev. T. A. Smith, Moderator, Irish Presbyterian Church

Rev. W. Hodson Smith

Rev. F. C. Spurr

Rev. Tissington Tatlow, Rector of All Hallow's Church, London; Hon. Canon of Canterbury; Gen. Secretary, Student Christian Movement

Rev. H. J. Taylor

Rev. J. W. Tuffley, Secretary of the Brotherhood Movement

Lt. Commissioner J. Unsworth, Salvation Army

Rev. T. Rhondda Williams, Chairman, Congregational Union

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester

H. G. Wood, Director Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham

Rev. E. S. Woods, Vicar of Croydon; Hon. Canon of Canterbury

Rev. Basil Yeaxlee, Editor *The New Chronicle of Christian Education*

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rev. Peter Ainslie, Minister, Christian Temple, Baltimore, Md.

Dr. James R. Angell, President, Yale University

Rev. Robert A. Ashworth, Minister, Baptist Church of the Redeemer, Yonkers, New York

Rt. Rev. J. W. Atwood, Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church

Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, President, Brown University

Rev. Herbert E. Benton, Pastor, Messiah Universalist Church, Philadelphia

Dr. R. E. Blackwell, President, Randolph-Macon College

Evangeline Booth, Commander-in-Chief, Salvation Army, United States

Rev. W. Russell Bowie, Rector, Grace Church, New York

Bishop H. M. Du Bose, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Nashville

Rev. J. Whitcomb Brougher, First Baptist Church, Oakland, California

Rev. Arthur J. Brown, Gen. Secretary, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, New York

Rev. William Adams Brown, Union Theological Seminary, New York

Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, Minister, Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn

Bishop James Cannon, Jr., Chairman, Board of Temperance and Social Service, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, President, Union Theological Seminary, New York

Dr. Donald J. Cowling, President, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota

Rev. W. Stuart Cramer, Minister, First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa.

Rev. Henry Darlington, Rector, Church of the Heavenly Rest, New York

Dr. Ozora S. Davis, President, The Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago

Rev. William Horace Day, Minister, The United Church, Bridgeport, Connecticut

Rev. Seldon Peabody Delany, Rector, Church of St. Mary the Virgin, New York

Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, Minister, Arlington Street Church, Boston

Rabbi H. C. Enelow, Congregation Emanu-El, New York

Rev. Frederick L. Fagley, Associate Secretary of the National Council of the Congregational Churches, New York

Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, Ex-President, Brown University

Dr. Charles W. Flint, Chancellor, Syracuse University

Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Minister, Riverside Church, New York

Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman, Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Robert Freeman, Minister, Pasadena Presbyterian Church, Pasadena, California

Rev. Milo H. Gates, Rector, Chapel of the Intercession, New York

Rev. Charles W. Gilkey, Dean of the Chapel, University of Chicago

Rev. George A. Gordon, Minister, Old South Church, Boston

Dr. John Grier Hibben, President, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Minister, The Community Church of New York

Rev. Finis S. Idleman, Minister, Central Church of Disciples, New York

Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, Minister, Broadway Tabernacle, New York

Rev. M. Ashby Jones, Minister, Second Baptist Church, St. Louis

Professor Rufus M. Jones, Haverford College

Rabbi Leo Jung, The Jewish Center, New York

Most Rev. James J. Keane, Archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa

Rev. Henry Churchill King, Ex-President, Oberlin College

Rev. Miles H. Krumbine, Minister, Parkside Lutheran Church, Buffalo

Rev. John W. Langdale, Editor, The Abingdon Press, New York

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, Former Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, Boston

Rabbi Alexander Lyons, Eighth Avenue Temple, Brooklyn

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, New York

Bishop William F. McDowell, Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

Dr. W. Douglas Mackenzie, President, Hartford Seminary Foundation

Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, President, Boston University

Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago

Rev. William P. Merrill, Minister, Brick Presbyterian Church, New York

Rev. Frank H. Nelson, Rector, Christ Church, Cincinnati

Rev. Joseph Fort Newton, Rector, The Memorial Church of St. Paul, Overbrook, Philadelphia

Bishop Thomas Nicholson, Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Detroit

Rev. Frank Mason North, Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, New York

Rev. Robert Norwood, Rector, St. Bartholomew's Church, New York

Rev. Peter J. O'Callaghan, Superior, Mount Melchisedech, New York

Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Bishop Coadjutor of Albany

Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church of California

Rev. A. Ray Petty, Minister, First Baptist Church, Kansas City

Rev. C. Wallace Petty, Minister, First Baptist Church, Pittsburgh

Rev. Daniel A. Poling, Minister, The Marble Collegiate Church, New York

Rev. Karl Reiland, Rector, St. George's Church, New York

Rev. M. S. Rice, Minister, Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, Detroit

Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins, The General Theological Seminary, New York

Rev. J. Elliott Ross, Chaplain Newman Hall Center for Catholic Students, New York

Rev. John A. Ryan, Director, Department of Social

Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

Very Rev. William Scarlett, Dean, Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis

Rev. Paul Scherer, Minister, The Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, New York

Rev. Frederick F. Shannon, Minister, Central Church, Chicago

Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, Topeka, Kansas

Rt. Rev. Charles Lewis Slattery, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, Boston

Rev. Ralph W. Sockman, Minister, Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York

Rev. Merle Smith, Minister, First Methodist Church, Pasadena, California

Dr. Robert E. Speer, Secretary, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, New York

Rev. Jay T. Stocking, Minister, Pilgrim Congregational Church, St. Louis

Rev. John Timothy Stone, President, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago

Rev. William F. Sunday, Minister, The Lutheran Church of St. James, New York

Rev. Ernest F. Tittle, Minister, Methodist Episcopal Church, Evanston

Rev. Floyd Williams Tomkins, Rector, Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia

Rev. George W. Truett, Minister, First Baptist Church, Dallas

Rev. Beverly D. Tucker, Jr., Rector, St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia

Rev. James I. Vance, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Nashville

Rev. Henry van Dyke, Princeton

Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, Dean of Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue, New York

Rev. W. I. Wishart, Minister, Eighth United Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh

Rabbi Louis Wolsey, Congregation Rodeph Sholom, Philadelphia

Just at the time the manuscript for this book is going to the publisher, the author returned from a series of conferences with these religious leaders in the British Isles, and had the privilege of significant conferences with many of the great business, political and editorial leaders. He was so impressed upon every occasion with the exceeding cordiality of these Britishers and also with their deep, genuine determination to have the co-operative relations between the Anglo-American countries preserved, that he believes such amicable relations will continue if the same representative leaders of America respond in like degree.

Thus the bonds of religion, language and ideals of government are stronger than one hundred years ago or ten years ago. The sanctions of kinship, friendship and fraternity are more real than a while back. The urge of economic salvation is more compelling than ten or five years since. The improved implements for advancing concord and composing difficulties are away and beyond any other era. None of these were in effect in 1812. They combine to say "No" to war. There is much to encourage the hope of continued peace between these nations who so earnestly preach peace to all the rest of the world. *But peace in any time in any area is the result of effort.* It is not an automatic virtue.

One thing is certain, namely, that unless an active, serious, honest, persistent effort is made by the friends of good will on both sides of the sea, there may be a day when unthinkable war will be declared between Great Britain and the United States. It may be very well to say in speeches that it is impossible; but that is absurd. We are made fully aware that upon both sides there are those who are doing their utmost, whether they realize it or not, to precipitate an outbreak between these two countries. They are small in numbers but dangerous in doctrine. It may all be centred in this: *There must be continual peace between these two nations.* All the valid arguments say that war must be made "un-

thinkable." All the dictates of the world welfare as well as those of the perpetuity of the mysterious thing called "civilization" demand this. But this means effort by those who believe in good will. These two nations of whom so much is expected as the world struggles for enduring peace could easily drift into conflict. They will need to work and work hard to preserve the present friendly relations and to develop a sound basis of co-operation for the eventful years which lie ahead.

"By the decree of the King of Heaven, we are comrades and friends, co-workers in the great enterprise of bringing the whole earth under the sovereignty of Love." This is the epitome of the book, *The Friendship Indispensable,* by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson.

TRANSLATE THIS INTO RUSSIAN AND CHINESE AND RUSH IT
—By Thomas in the Detroit News

IX. THE COMPELLING APOLOGETIC

"Tell the truth, the whole truth, about the savage, beastly, devilish conditions of modern warfare. To do less is to play false to the cause of peace. Know and keep making known the facts about war."

—Rev. Dr. William P. Merrill

IN A long review of the ebb and flow of the tides of the peace movement, the breakdown in most instances, when war has followed, has been in the imperfections of the methods which were available to meet the case in hand. In more recent years at least, earnest, sincere efforts have been made in these emergencies to prevent the actual declarations of war. But somehow the means employed were not adequate. Each war peril produces its own special combination of events or circumstances. If these intermittent international disputes would occur in some standard form the experiences of the past would help in averting the new disasters. But each time an entirely different set of arguments, incriminations and demands emerges, with the confusing result that those who attempt to negotiate through pacific means have to begin *de novo*.

Take as an illustration the crisis of 1914. The

friction then seemed to be between Austria and Serbia. Grand Duke Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated by a Serbian. Austria made demands upon Serbia. Most of them were immediately accepted. The uninformed public had its attention centred upon the passage of notes between these two states. But for all practical purposes those notes may as well have been exchanged between Borneo and Samoa. They were only blinds to detract attention from the real cause of the war preparations. All the world knows now that the shot fired in Sarajevo that afternoon was a minor factor. The real cause was a deep bitter passion in Potsdam—an insane rage for World Power in the Kaiser's bosom plus generations of "secret diplomacy," "intrigues" and "alliances" which had poisoned every capital in Europe. These were reflected in fear in the Quai d'Orsay in Paris and in the Kremlin in Moscow and in Downing St. in London. And all were complicated by every major political move made in all of these countries from 1870. The United States tried hard enough to keep out, but was sucked in by the very momentum of the wheels within wheels going around. If the *Lusitania* had not been sunk, it would have been something else. It was not like any other event in history. The implements to which Viscount Grey could appeal in his desperate

effort to prevent armed conflict were too frail. They were not strong enough to bridge the chasm.

In the interview with Viscount Cecil to which an earlier reference was made, after discussing with his lordship the general world conditions which he said were exceedingly serious, and which he felt had become more so since 1926, I asked, "What are two or three of the most important things which must be done in the future if peace is maintained?" He said, "First, we must keep alive in the thoughts of the people the utter horror of the last war. As we get farther away from those years and a younger generation comes into prominence, one which did not pass through those terrible experiences, the peril of another war will increase. If we do not make secure the peace programmes inside of the next ten years then there will be another war." The second item he gave upon which no further comment need be made was "Reduction of Armaments." The third was the importance of co-operative relations between Britain and the United States.

These statements were made by this great man with calm, deliberate thought and a manifest profound anxiety.

I may add by way of parenthesis that three men of notable international wisdom and good-will desires, whom I interviewed at about the same time, all magnified the exceeding importance of "the next

ten years" for the peace crusade, and each emphasized the necessity of keeping the story of war's havoc in constant remembrance with the people throughout the world.

The contents of previous chapters certainly form the basis for a more reliable confidence in the future. The machinery for enforcing peace is away and beyond more efficient than in any previous time. In 1914 there had been no Locarno. There was no League of Nations. There was no Paris Pact of renunciation of war. With all of these, however, the mechanism may not be perfect. Other elements will no doubt be required. But it is extremely difficult to see now what issue or issues can arise in any part of the world in the future, which may not lend themselves to solution by these modern methods which have been produced by the most capable statesmen of this generation. These implements are sufficient for every imaginable condition where there is a desire for pacific settlement.

And yet there remains this widespread fear and ominous dread among people in all parts of the world. Why? It may be lack of faith in the Paris Treaty, the Geneva League or The Hague Tribunal. It may be the suspicion that statesmen, politicians and diplomats will not play fair. It may be thought that at some unlooked-for hour they will violate all the rules, behind closed doors, and precipi-

tate another war. It may be a hangover of the prenatal influence of ages of glorified war which will be more compelling than modern education. Whatever its genesis that fear is still strong. The writer belongs to that group which believes that the collapse, if it should come again, will be attributed in large measure to the waning sense of the horror of war, or in the absence of an adequate compelling apologetic which can keep public opinion up to a white heat of indignation against the system. A section of this book has been given to the discussion of the majesty of public opinion. But after all what will compel public opinion to function year after year, decade after decade, generation after generation? Not reverence for a treaty; not admiration for a League; not respect for a Court. Rather, may we look for this in a sustained attack upon war: its ghastly scenes, its cruelty, its gore and its outrage upon women and children. This picture of war's desolation must be told and told over again. It is well to be reminded that in the midst of a scientific age the most scientific factor in human conduct and activity is aroused emotions. People do not act by cold intellectual processes but rather when feelings have been aroused, emotions have been kindled either of great love or of great hate.

This was demonstrated in the American crusade to abolish the saloon. Leaving entirely aside the

mooted question about the value *per se* of the method of Prohibition, the fact is that the drama, *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* had a tremendous effect in the passage of the law. In every town and hamlet, in the theatres and the schoolhouses and the churches, this emotional play was produced, and then produced again. Professional actors put it on, and then the local talent played it all the next winter. It went out by tens of thousands in yellow-backed, paper-covered pamphlets, at ten cents a copy. It painted the saloon as the debaucher of otherwise useful men. It portrayed the saloon-keeper as a brute taking bread from hungry children and stripping them of clothing in the cold blasts of a winter night. The final scene left the helpless mother in the shack of a house without a hope in the world. It swept America more powerfully than all the perfectly developed statements of the economic and social waste of the legal saloon. Those crusaders hammered relentlessly at the saloon as an institution. They were ably supplemented by economist and educator and social worker. But they kept the fire centred upon that "corner saloon" with all its complement of vices. This statement is given with no desire to discuss the extreme things which may have been done or said. The deduction is that they got results by this appeal to human emotions.

Slavery had been proven wrong as a human in-

stitution for many and many a year before 1860, but it survived the intellectual attack. It could not, however, withstand the wave after wave of emotional indignation which swept the country when Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote and released *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* The papers printed it in serials. It went to the stage and again the little schoolhouses and neighbourhood meeting places were packed to see it dramatized. The people laughed with Eliza; they booed at Simon Legree; they wept for Uncle Tom. They went out to hate slavery. They resolved to help destroy it. Their mental operations may not have been overlogical but their emotions had given a verdict that was final. By the methods of that generation this element must be availed of for the campaign for a warless world.

There is a peculiar temptation in this period to fail in this feature of the movement. A great deal is being said about the "scientific method" in all the moral and philanthropic endeavours. There is a subtle intellectual pride which leads many to shrink from what might be termed the emotional appeal. It seems so much more profound to talk of "behaviourism," "humanism," "psychology" and "determinism" than it does to speak of "sin" and "God."

That a solid foundation may be established for other considerations, the author must make clear

his sympathy with modern scientific methods and investigations. But unattended by something else science is a cold study. No offence will be taken if thought is directed to the fact that in the religious world those organizations which have placed most stress upon the scientific have not gathered to themselves great momentum, either in numbers of adherents or in equipment. The world has yet to know the preacher who can command wide attention and wield great power by dint of hard intellectualism only. The superior place in life's great moral struggle goes to the man who is broad enough to combine the sound basis of reasoning, logic and intellectual understanding with the emotional appeal which moves the heart and will go out for the cause.

The world's titanic struggle for peace is subject to the rules of this same psychology. Upon the platforms where this message is heard it appears to be a little more profound, to give detailed and explicit interpretations of certain historic incidents or to trace the evolution of certain measures, than it does to take the mask off the devilish system, with its intrigues, its lies, its deceptions, or its bargainings to win certain victories at the cost of so many thousands of lives of helpless young men. It is hoped that no suspicion can be sustained that these pages are indifferent to those intense studies which

have been and are being made as to causes which bring about armed conflict or their cure by wise machinery. Certainly that conclusion is not intended.

The chapter upon "Judicial Settlement of Disputes" will perhaps be sufficient answer to that. But when every existing league, court, treaty and pact shall have served its day and passed away, or have been supplanted by something better, the practice of war will be the same heinous, beastly thing it has been plus all that modernism can add to it. Daniel A. Poling's *Huts in Hell* must have been prompted by the familiar statement of a great General who in the midst of a sweeping victory said, "War is Hell." He might have telegraphed, "Isn't this a glorious war?" He didn't. He was compelled to see it in its naked horror. He called it "hell." It always has been "hell" to anybody who has touched it. To furnish sustained motive to carry through to victory for peace it must be continually made to look like hell. The world has come to grips with a devil, the casting out of which is not a parlour sociable with lovely people saying lovely things. War must be branded as the enemy of every good thing which has been hoped for through all the centuries.

In the introductory comment some reference was made to a desire to write quite personally about

some features of these discussions. One of the most prominent of these is reached just here. The author writes as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The organization is at work in a unique field and employs methods peculiar to its own message and objective. While it has these distinctive qualities which are different from kindred societies engaged in the same task, it is a Peace movement. It believes in the abolition of war. It dissents from every subterfuge which seeks to permit the war system to propagate itself into the future. It confidently looks forward to a generation which will know war no more. Its faith envisages an absolutely warless world. It does not fix dates. It does not work by a calendar. But it does see the ultimate triumph of good will and brotherhood among races and nations.

As one reflects upon the past in family traditions and in natural inclinations, there is a sort of mystery in having come to official relations to an organization of the purposes and doctrines just described. My family relationships upon both the paternal and the maternal sides are written in vigorous participation in all of the wars of American history. If some one had suggested to the author in 1914 that he would become the executive chairman of such a movement it would have been regarded as a fan-

tastic dream or a romance or some bit of fiction. Converted upon the home missionary field of South Dakota, and brought into the fellowship of the rural church where the only problem seemed to be getting men converted and leading them to live sober, orderly lives I gave the best I had to that form of Christian work. Soon after that the service of the secretaryship of the Young Men's Christian Association was entered and continued for twenty-five years. For over forty years in several of the greater Christian movements I have been an active participant. During the years intimate personal relations were enjoyed with Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Josiah Strong, and finally and most intimately with Colonel Raymond Robins. The first three of those named uncovered the academic aspects of the Social Gospel. The latter concreted this larger evangel in its technique. He was a demonstration of a dynamic personality in action for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. During this period two or three wars occurred. One was the Spanish-American conflict of 1898. As a Y. M. C. A. man I went into the camps and with the troops to Cuba. It was a shock to my expectations of that steadily growing Christian movement. It took but a superficial study to realize that there was nothing ennobling in that experience. But it was brief. It was soon over. The American

publicity agents evaluated it as a superb piece of patriotism. Later I was made Campaign Director of the Men and Religion Forward Movement which was carried into all of the larger cities of North America and to South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, China and Japan. That was an earnest effort to bring into one compact form all of the more salient elements in the Christian Message. Slowly but steadily this more comprehensive social obligation and opportunity pressed itself into a conspicuous place in all of these conventions. This movement covered the years from 1911 to 1913. With such ability as one had, this vision of economic justice and of fairer conditions for physical human life, of childhood guaranteed food, clothing, play, homes, religion and schools, was fascinating and full of possibilities. Then the crash of 1914 came. The red blood of the world followed the drum-beats and bugle call. The powder, the dynamite, the gas, the submarines, the bombing aeroplanes took the front page of the papers, secular and religious. The whole eleemosynary, philanthropic, humanitarian, ethical and religious programs went over into a small space on the back page of the newspapers or for the most part disappeared entirely. They were insignificant in contrast to the headline "22,000 of our enemies killed in battle yesterday." They were sent to the scrap-heap. It took the writer twenty-five

years to learn that when this war game enters the scene it cuts across every pathway of those who pray and work for the establishment of God's Kingdom. With millions of others one had to learn that thirty days of a bloody, brutal war can undo the results of thirty years of all the religious efforts. Some conclusions follow which have been reached only through the experiences of many years and by being forced to readjust earlier theories.

In the first place, WAR IS AGAINST ALL THE LAWS OF HUMAN PROGRESS. I think I am an evolutionist. That is, I am an evolutionist if I may write my own definition. It is not the definition of the man who says, "I am only a higher type of the animals of the field; when I die it will be like the death of a horse." It is the evolution which believes it is the will of God that the human race, created in His own image, shall by sources of culture through education and religion find its way back to that perfect state it enjoyed in the beginning. It is the kind which believes it is the plan and purpose of God, through the urge of the good in men, that the race is to rise to nobler heights. The schools, the churches, the synagogues and the other religious organizations have been prompted by the spirit of God to this task of human progress. The humanitarian age is upon the hearts of people. In the literature of the National Bureau of Information in New York

City, there are found listed over fifty organizations which are engaged in these scientific efforts to lift humanity and give it a square deal, an honest chance to be its best. But when war breaks out every noble purpose cherished in any or all of these is for the time being crushed. The beneficent results which have been so admirably sought are indefinitely postponed. The causes for human delinquencies are renewed. The numbers of those who must be the recipients of these charities are multiplied. War laughs at the humanitarian and the religionist as it throws the whole race back to lower levels of morality and human conditions of life.

A good many years ago I read Dr. David Starr Jordan's *The Biological Effects of War*. At that time I thought it a bit overdrawn. I know better now. Imagination and intelligence fail to reveal what the world might have been in 1929 if the wars of the last century alone could have been averted. It would have been a thousand times a better world economically, physically, socially, ethically and spiritually. The apostles of Mars are the proponents of ignorance, vice, superstition and human decay.

In the second place, WAR IS THE PRIME DEBAUCHER OF ECONOMICS. I cannot believe it the plan of God, for anyone at any time, anywhere to die of starvation. Only in the darkest chasm of paganism could there be sustained belief in a God

who would create human beings and then deliberately plan for their extermination by starvation. Even worse is this doctrine when it is upheld as one of the methods by which God is to be glorified. Better for God to be a pauper than to be rich by this dispensation. In every generation of every age, so far as facts may be known, the Divine Creator has made liberal, abundant provision for the normal, natural life of the people. There is richness enough in the soil by which in each year food enough may be produced that all the people can eat. Nobody from the least to the greatest needs to go hungry, much less to perish in famine. There is always water enough so that everybody can drink, and no one need meet untimely death by the indescribable agony of unsatisfied thirst. God in His gracious wisdom has so filled the universe with good air that normally, naturally all the people can breathe. Respiration can function. None are by the will of God compelled to suffocate for lack of ozone. If in any given day all the inhabitants of all the world should sit down to a meal the provisions of a gracious Providence would not fail in food enough. If in any given moment every man, woman and child in every part of this globe and in all the other worlds, if they are inhabited, should go out and take a great deep breath, there would be ozone enough to fill every lung with vitalizing power. If the same un-

known hosts should at a given moment each ask for a draught of pure water, the same law would abound.

Any time there is not food enough or water enough or air enough it is because somewhere the divine provisions for human care have been violated. Sin has entered through some channel. Greed has interfered with the processes of production and distribution. When those incidents occur and human devastation does follow, it is only an expression of the basest theology that would attribute results of that kind to a Heavenly Father. It is obvious that these catastrophes do occur not only in war time but in peace. But they are a picture of human frailties and not revelations of the character of God. But of all the dispensers of starvation, pestilence, and disease, war is the Prime Minister. War steps into the scene and defies the very existence of God behind whose beneficent love it is the desire that those of His creation shall live their natural lives and finish their course. War wipes millions out of existence without a chance to have served their generation by the Will of God. President Hoover, in one of his superb appeals for alms to care for the sick, the diseased and the starving as a direct result of the war, said that while something like ten or eleven millions had been killed upon the battlefields, not less than thirty millions had per-

ished as the after-effect of the war. Every board, every commission, every church, every synagogue, and every individual man or woman with any shibboleth about human welfare in its written declaration or upon its lips ought to hate war as the arch enemy of every hope they cherish.

In the third place, WAR IS AGAINST THE KINGDOM OF GOD. In all the multitude of philosophies called religion in the various parts of the world there are two common meeting grounds. One is when each in turn reaches that part in the interpretation of its particular philosophy which lays claim to the Golden Rule as one of the cardinal principles. And the second is in the prayers where each one of them says "Our Father, who art in Heaven, Hallowed be Thy Name. Thy Kingdom come . . . on earth, as it is in Heaven." There may be a variation in the language, in the form, but in substance, that sentiment is somewhere in the prayers of every religion. This "Kingdom of God" is a great central hope, but it has been fearfully misunderstood, misinterpreted and abused. Even yet within the ranks of those who hold the Christian faith there are many kinds of definitions of what is meant by the Kingdom of God. But however many disagreements there may be about the exact definition, there is no disagreement about the fact that running clear through the New Testament particularly, there is this Kingdom

of God desire. While granting to every school of thought its fullest autonomy, and with no desire to cavil over small differences of opinion, this Kingdom of God must be a dispensation of good will and brotherhood and love.

But unless the leaders of religion can unite for the abolition of the practice of war among races and nations, every last one of them might as well take this phrase out of their prayers. Offering supplication to an infinite God to hasten the Kingdom of God and then turning square around and engaging in collective slaughter is a colossal farce. It makes religion a sham. It makes religion a cheap by-word on the curb of every Main Street. The Kingdom of God is never to be while war lasts. All of those whose memories are vivid with the incidents which came into life in 1914, '15, '16 and '17 will bear witness that the first thing done by the nations participating in that war was to begin a crusade to develop the most vicious type of hate. With many others the writer, who desired to help in the cause which his country had espoused in 1917, volunteered in the service of public information and attended a great meeting where all these public speakers were to be taught what they were to say. That incident is a hideous memory. Speaker after speaker was put on the platform to tell the most impossible stories of the atrocities of the Germans.

If they could have done so they would have made us believe that the German armies were simply going from place to place chopping off the hands of helpless little children; debauching women and in every conceivable way dealing out brutalities to people who had no means of defence. A great deal was said about a certain "hymn of hate" which was being sung in Germany. But hymns of hate are indispensable to any country when it declares war upon another people. This hate propaganda is nothing new, it was not unique in the Great War of 1914 to 1917. It is always a required subject in the administration of war. In war some people are assigned to the "field service"—some to the "sea"—some to "ordnance"—some to the "commissary," and others to the hate-making brigade. Two quotations from standard publications in the United States during the Civil War give evidence that the same methods were in vogue then which were also employed in the last great war. History repeats this record of hate slogans in each recurring outbreak. In September of 1862, *Harper's Weekly* gave this as a typical description of the Southern Army:

"The cruel and incredible barbarities of the rebels every day accumulate in horror. They cut off the heads of our dead at Manassas; they boiled the

bodies to get the bones more readily; they buried our brave brothers with their faces down; they swung their heads as trophies upon their homeward march through East Tennessee; they drew Kenly and his heroic troop of Marylanders with a white flag, then unrolled the black and massacred them. . . . Dishonor and infamy of every kind; ferocity which Fijians could not emulate; superstition, ignorance, and bestiality . . ."

At about the same time the Charleston *Courier* pictured the Northern Army in this fashion:

"Federal villainies in Maryland—one single fact will serve as a specimen. A party of Sickle's dead rabbits who had been turned loose upon the unfortunate populace in lower Maryland burned the homestead of a wealthy citizen, turned his family out into the fields, and carried off one of the young ladies to their den, where she was outraged by nine of the devils. The Federal Army was 'as villainous as the worst pirates who ever infested the sea.' Look at the horde of ruffians, and say what jail has been robbed to bring together these hireling assassins. 'They combine all the vices of savages,' said Barnwell Rhett, 'with the intelligence of the civilized man.' They are brutal fanatics . . . a nation of criminals."

These are not shocking stories as war goes. They are standard "news stuff." They are a part of the technique of the game. Of course outbreaks of violence do occur when men are put in military camps and schooled in brutality. But to attribute incidents of this kind as being common to the people of any of the nations or of their armies in the war of 1860 to 1865 or 1914 to 1918 is base falsehood.

In fairness it should be said, the commanders upon the seas or generals on the land do not send out stuff of this kind. I have had rather intimate contact with the commanding officers of two wars. I never heard one of them portray the enemy in this manner. This task is reserved for the fire-eaters and hypothetical blood letters at home. But this hate campaign always finds its way into the scene. War thrives on hate. War can only prosper to the degree that the wildest passions of hate are aroused against the enemy. War dies in the presence of good will. War dissolves when brotherhood, love and co-operation come into the hearts of the people. Therefore, by just common ordinary good sense, we are compelled, more and more, to view war as the supreme enemy of everything we are undertaking to build up in the name of humanitarianism, just economic relations and the Kingdom of God. This story must be told and then told again. It must be accompanied by sanity and in-

terest in developing implements for permanent peace such as treaties, courts and leagues. However, the compelling apologetic which will carry the crusade to a finish for these implements is an abiding sense of the unspeakable horror which follows in the train of every manifestation of armed force.

Any talk about establishing "The Kingdom of God on Earth," which anticipates a continuance of the use of wars to adjust misunderstandings among states, is a farce. The growing conception of the world of tomorrow is the "family" ideal. Good families do not fight.

Here is a picture of war which must stir every believer in the progress and preservation of the human race:

I HATE WAR

"I hate war.

"I hate war because I know its folly—I have watched it waste the substance of the world.

"I hate it with terror—the terror of one who has known the sting of its torture and the frenzy of its fear.

"I hate it with passion—the passion of one who has held its dying against his breast.

"I hate it with disillusionment—the disillusionment of one who has gathered up its bloody fragments and remembered its broken promises.

"I hate it with agony—the agony of one who has sons to be numbered and daughters to be offered should its guns grow hungry again.

"I hate war.

"I hate it for the crimson bubbles on all the seas, for the poisoned breath it gives to the wings of the wind and for its fences of skulls that girdle the globe.

"I hate it for the men it maims—bodies mutilated, eyes blinded, limbs severed, faces shut up forever behind masks.

"I hate it because of the young men it splits upon bayonets and scatters like offal across continents sown to passion and watered with blood.

"I hate it because of the child it orphans and the bride it widows.

"I hate it because of the betrothed it leaves unmated, the father it makes sonless, and the mother it robs of the fruit of her womb.

"I hate war.

"I hate it because of the unborn slain in the loins of the potential fathers it destroys.

"I hate it because of the evil passions it unleashes to feed upon the innocent.

"I hate it because of the virgins it casts to the lions of lust.

"I hate war.

"I hate it for its ruined cities, hate it for its polluted rivers, hate it for its desecrated altars.

"I hate it for the good-will it destroys, the truth it perverts, the lie it exalts, the murder it decorates, the brotherhood it despoils and the black damp of suspicion it hangs over all the councils of man.

"I hate war—but I believe; believe that the song of the angels above Bethlehem is a prophecy; believe that right is ultimate might; believe in the fatherhood of God, in the brotherhood of man, and have cast the anchor of my faith behind the Prince of Peace.

"I hate war and I believe. And because I both hate and believe, I hear the trumpet of the dawn when nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning hooks, and when men shall learn war—no more forever."—DANIEL A. POLING.

"Peace Hath Her Victories"

—By Chapin in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

X. WHAT RELIGION CAN DO

IN SUMMING up the discussions upon international questions, with peculiar accent upon peace, which have been so insistent for the past ten years, it is interesting to observe how the people of varying types of mind have grouped around some particular mode or method, and usually each has vehemently presented its theory as the one supreme panacea. I have a friend whose judgment is highly respected by all who know him, who has one standard answer for every occasion where the world peace topic is advanced. He says: "The United States must join the League of Nations. Then enduring world peace is accomplished. The path is as clear as the big road." This paragraph from a letter indicates his point of view. He does not oppose other proposals but he supports the one alone. He represents many sincere peace advocates. Another may be found with the same conviction about the principle of "Arbitration." He is more or less suspicious of leagues and courts. He views arbitration as being entirely sufficient for all emergencies. He has scant hope in anything else. Yet another of the jurist school centres all the expectations of a warless world in the "Court." He views with grave doubt the

value of good will as a tangible asset. To him it is pure sentiment without power. Codify the laws, enact the new ones required and apply the rule of thumb in the legality of each case, is his determined philosophy. Another, who perhaps illustrates the largest number, is altogether for good will. He fears an overemphasis upon arbitral or legal methods. He contends for a great campaign to get all the nations and all the races to adopt the Golden Rule as their basic principle of life. He envisages a world Utopia, a universal altruism, as indispensable for this ideal of common concord. These do not exhaust the list, they only serve to suggest how many minds hold different views of the pathway to permanent peace. It is well for the cause that men and women who share this ultimate hope should bring their strong convictions upon these different aspects of the program. It would be unfair to give the impression that all of these who give preeminent emphasis to some particular method for achieving world peace are unfriendly to other plans. Most of them will rejoice in any progress by any sort of technique, which may be brought forward by anybody, if the cause is served.

It is true that there are some who are so obsessed by their own peculiar wisdom that they are irritated when others even suggest programs which ought

to have consideration. Fortunately, these are few in number.

The present purpose, however, is to recognize the wide field of endeavour which has developed in this greatest human effort in all history. If the author were pressed to give one method or principle which he would stress above all others it would be "RELIGION." With this in mind I recently went over an accumulation of notes upon addresses delivered in many parts of the world to many kinds of audiences. These included college and university students, civic and fraternal societies, legislatures, manufacturers, stock producers, labour organizations, bankers, lawyers, doctors, religious gatherings of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Mohammedans, Hindus, Buddhists and Confucianists. In races, they were delivered to brown, black, yellow and white men. I observed that without any previous design, in every one of them at some place religion had been magnified as the most important item in the entire scheme. Under certain circumstances the League of Nations was prominent. In another the International Court of Justice was discussed. In others The Hague Tribunal seemed to have been conspicuous in reference. To a considerable degree the importance of education in internationalism was advocated. Latterly I observed that the Paris Peace Pact was stressed beyond every other item. None

of these were referred to, however, upon all occasions, but religion was not omitted at any time.

I am not making this statement as an indication of the complete wisdom of this fact but to clear the way to say that I am an avowed apostle of the absolute place for religion in this program. If by some edict one were compelled to be the proponent of a single idea in the peace movement, the choice would be for religion. No lengthy deliberation would be required. The decision would be quick, decisive and full of satisfaction. If I were compelled to accept this single alternative of religion, I would know that eventually it would win. If I were compelled to omit it entirely and adopt the next best hypothesis, I would know that eventually it would fail. Frankly, I believe those who are straining for intellectual processes which will lead to a world of pacific means of adjustment, without the influence of religion, are going down a blind alley. Their efforts will come to but little except as some one injects the moral, ethical, spiritual qualities which inhere in religion.

It may not be amiss in this connection to use a negative method of argument upon this abolition of war idea. This form is much used in the medical science. The most approved plan of diagnosis by the physician is to eliminate certain hypotheses. He says the patient is not afflicted with typhoid fever, yellow fever, diphtheria, pneumonia, tonsillitis,

measles or smallpox, and in the absence of other obvious ailments the patient is usually operated on for appendicitis or his tonsils are removed. The same indirection is found in the legal profession. The attorney for the defence or the defendant is not required to prove something. He establishes the "reasonable doubt" in the case. By that rule some valuable facts may be learned in the peace effort. . . .

(a) War will not be abolished by the recitations of its horrors upon battlefields or its past events in human suffering alone. Without detracting a line from a previous chapter where these elements have been discussed, history sounds its warning as to these stories, unattended by something else, being an adequate retardent to the war passion.

Major-General Robertson of the British Army said one night at the close of a day's terrible slaughter. "Any man who sees one day of war will hate it forever." Thousands who have viewed the carnage of a day in war have felt this. But time passes and then a new crisis arises. The old slogans are polished up and the war makers of the next generation can drill soldiers for a new conflict in the cemeteries where the dead of the last war lie buried. Recorded facts of deaths, casualties and after-effects of disease and starvation are of themselves an insufficient sanction to abolish war.

(b) War will not stop because of economic waste. Unaccompanied by something else, this will not prevent the "next war." Once more, with no apology for earlier comments upon this feature, the cold fact is that an overburdened world with war taxation does not accept this as a valid reason for outlawing the system. If at some future time the fires of a war psychology burn hot enough, taxes, even if they were consuming 99 per cent of the total income, instead of 82 per cent as at present, would not stop the outbreak. Soon after 1918 I received a telegram from my friend, the late William Jennings Bryan, asking me to confer with him on an important matter. I went to Miami in response to his message. He talked of the disastrous effect of the Great War upon questions we were mutually interested in, and commenting upon the fact that his health was not as good as it might be and that he could not again engage in as strenuous speaking tours as he had done, urged me to give a prominent place to the World Peace Crusade. He talked to me about it with the same earnestness I had heard him use in speaking to five thousand people on other topics. In presenting my previous commitments to certain other duties, I said, "I do not think another outbreak of war can occur for many many years. The European countries are so exhausted financially they can't go to war for fifty years at least." He leaned

back in a large chair in which he was sitting and through his typical smile, mingled with a look of surprise and concern, he said, "Have you forgotten history? Did you ever know of a man who was so hard up that he couldn't borrow some money with which to buy whisky to get drunk on?" I replied "No." He followed, "There never was a nation so poor but that it could not get some money somewhere to run a war with." The sanctions which will stop war must be more profound than economics.

(c) War will not withdraw from the scene of human struggle simply because any number of people refuse to participate. There are some who seem to regard this academic question as being the all-important one. But under certain circumstances this might be a very selfish attitude. One's personal safety or high spiritual conceptions are insignificant in contrast to the real task of abolishing the system. But whatever may be the merits of this mooted "personal participation" controversy, it has no compelling power to stop war.

The author hopes other chapters have established beyond doubt his belief in the indispensable place of Leagues, Courts, Conferences, Treaties, Pacts, and Education. Each is an integral part in the complicated urge toward Peace on Earth. But leavening the whole, giving abiding impetus to every

effort, there must be Religion. When every word has been spoken that may be spoken about schemes and devices the struggle is one in the field of morals. This thought is made vivid in the following quotation from a speech by Prime Minister Baldwin:

"The fact is that we have paid much too much attention in the past to those tigrine impulses that lie deep down in human nature. If you think that you are going to beat the things that culminate in hatred and in war without a spiritual fight, you are foredoomed to failure. To make a vow with your lips is not enough. To sign a covenant with your pen is not enough. The love of peace, the will to peace, the hatred of war, must be written in the hearts of the people."

War will pass permanently from the scene only as it is made a sin against God to organize armies to go out to murder men. "Thou shalt not kill" is in the literature of every religion in the world. The professed believers may have wandered far from that commandment, but they have not changed it. It is as binding as when it came first on the tables of stone to the arms of Moses on the mountain. This emphasis upon religion is not a moral precept only, it has practical application.

Religion is the most powerful implement to be

brought into action for any cause. If the adherents of religion unite, they can carry the world for any plan or program they espouse. All the parliaments and all the politicians would be swept aside by their numerical strength. More of the hearts of the people of the world are lifted up to God in prayer than ever find any other common meeting place. If two things can be accomplished in the realm of religion, the story of the ravages of war will be ended.

The leaders of all forms of religion must be thoroughly convinced that war is anti-religious. They must be convinced that every outbreak of armed force by its very manifestation puts God far away. They must be made to realize that in the renaissance of education, with the emphasis upon sociological and human welfare sciences, the next generation will not believe in any religion which condones human slaughter and the debauching of all human life. They must learn that the continuance of the practice of war, with the hypocrisy of the blessing of religion upon it, will destroy all religion after a while.

And again, the leaders of all governments must be convinced that all religions are anti-war. Once let the diplomats, the statesmen, the politicians, the emperors, the presidents, the dictators, and the kings understand that the religions of all the world are

united upon this and that they are loosely bound together in a compact to resist war as a practice in national or international affairs, and the sad story will be closed so far as the new generations are involved. When this sublime hour has come to religion and the rulers are aware of it, the conferees in the rooms of diplomacy will avail themselves of the practical machinery which is now at hand to compose their grievances. They will keep faith with the signed treaties. They will yield to arbitration. They will accept the decisions of the courts. The responsible authorities of all the nations would not dare propose war if they knew the religions of the world were united against them.

But religion is more than a practical numerical influence. It supplies the moral dynamic to follow through in all the delicate negotiations of arbitration, adjudication and conciliation. True religion breathes with brotherhood. It does not lend itself to isolated nationalism. It is as big as the universe. When true religion enters the room it asks for something which speaks about "bearing one another's burdens."

True religion is the only atmosphere in which the talk about the Golden Rule is anything more than a fancy. What a revolution it will be when this Golden Rule is thought about where people debate the colour of a man's skin as a requisite to a square

deal or when nations are irritated about boundaries, tariffs, iron ore, oil, or the freedom of the seas.

True religion furnishes the motivating power for the long-sustained inspirational and educational campaign which the peace movement requires. If the zeal of religion is not to be enlisted for this cause, the chapter upon "The Compelling Apologetic" of this volume may as well be eliminated. There is not money enough in the world to hire teachers and speakers to endure the slurs and abuses of the war advocates and go through to the finish. Money can't compensate for the sting of being called "unpatriotic," a "radical," a "Bolshevist," a "soft pacifist." Convictions about God, human justice, judgment and the Kingdom of God will do it.

This Golden Rule may now be largely sentimental but it is essential if world peace is thought of as a reality. It will remain just a pretty sentiment until religion has so permeated international and interracial affairs that it has become one of the finest sciences in all human relationships.

At this point it is gratifying to observe the new impulse which is responding to this need of unity among religions to combat war as a national policy.

Through the initiative of the Church Peace Union and its General Secretary, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, under the title "The Universal Religious Peace Conference," an invitation is being extended to the lead-

ers of the eleven dominant religions to meet in a great conference at some place to be selected, probably in the Near or the Far East, at a date to be determined by the committee which is being organized. Dr. Atkinson's proposal, as set forth in a preliminary statement, contemplates one thousand men and women chosen fairly to represent their various faiths, meeting together in conference for two or three weeks to make known what each is contributing and may contribute to the cause of world peace. It will not be a meeting to discuss the merits of one faith against another. It will not be an attempt to inaugurate a system of conformity. It is to be limited to this single item of world peace, its importance to religion and the part each may have in its accomplishment. Quite apart from that "detailed program" which a few are always insisting upon in such gatherings, it will be of immeasurable value in solidifying these religions against the war system. It is the first worthy effort in history to make known to all the world that the leaders of all the religions are against war. It is the first worthy effort in history upon the part of these religions to serve advance notice upon war makers that they may not expect the blessing of religion upon any future wars.

The genuine friends of the abolition of war will view with keen interest this conference and will

avail themselves of the new strength which it is sure to bring to the cause. It is an earnest of the day when the full impact of this supreme power will be brought to bear upon the peace movement of the world.

Whatever may be the experiences in the progress of this world conference of eleven or more religions for the advancement of universal peace, the impact of it will have tremendous implications. Unity among the great religions for peace will eventually mean unity in effort for other humanitarian causes. It may be the prophecy of a hope vaster than any of its friends have realized.

Henrik Ibsen in his remarkable *Man of Galilee,* when pleading for the ministration of religion as the fulfilment of the hopes of the Man of Galilee, says, "I cannot believe in a loose political unity being of much avail in the world without a spiritual fusion implied in a World Religion."

One thing is certain, viz., the men of the street, the market place and the counting house expect the churches, the clergymen and all religious organizations to oppose war. Nothing is more pathetic than the occasional clergyman who is mumbling over the patent phrases of the war lords, "I believe in being prepared to fight anybody at any time." This is an exact sentence used in a Sunday morning sermon by a well-known American minister. "Our country has

won her place in the world by fighting. We will have to fight to keep it." This is another sample of a young preacher who boasted of a hope to wear a uniform and lead a regiment some day for the honour of "Old Glory." Fortunately these are remote instances. They represent cheap efforts to court the favour of the famous "hundred per centers" who have elected themselves to save the country.

The minister who attempts to be popular with the big military crowd is a joke in the clubs where hard-headed men discuss the war question. They know he is a sham. They know he is betraying the most sacred precepts of his profession.

When officers of the army, men of military distinction and public officials who have tasted the bitterness of war, issue sentiments like the following, what ought the preacher to say and do? The following quotation from General Tasker H. Bliss, former Chief of Staff, United States Army, has been used often, but its mandate to the Church is so profound that it ought to be repeated again and again:

"The responsibility [for the reduction of armaments] is entirely upon the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop

of blood that will be shed and for every dollar wastefully expended."

Here are other quotations by men who know what war means, and who have strong convictions as to what the attitude of the Church should be toward war—

Major-General John F. O'Ryan, Commander 27th Division of the American Expeditionary Force in France 1917-1918:

"I should be a traitor to my country if I did not do everything in my power to abolish war."

Field-Marshal Lord Haig, of the British Army:

"It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible."

The Hon. Lloyd George, War Prime Minister for Great Britain:

"If the churches of Christ throughout Europe and America allow that [another war] to fructify, they had better close their doors. The next war, if it comes, will be against civilization itself."

Comments like these could be multiplied until they would fill a volume. Every serious-minded man

in the world knows that the church and the synagogue and all their allied organizations ought to wash their hands and garments of the war theory and practice.

For myself I should feel the sense of a serious omission if the peculiar implications of this general theme to the Christian religion were to be omitted. The author is a Christian and holds definite ideals concerning the extension of that faith. He has deep appreciation for every genuine peace desire in any religion whatever its form of prayer or method of life. It took years of thought and frequent contact with other faiths to realize how fervently the followers of these non-Christian religions long for the good in the world. I never speak now of "heathen religions," a term I heard in my earlier life applied to all of the Oriental systems. However, appreciation of the values in other forms has not made me any less ardent for Christianity. But the particular thought just now is concerning the havoc which has been wrought to the Christian movement by Western wars. I have visited the greater nations of the Orient from five to seven times in periods about equally divided from 1904 to date. The chasm has been deepening and widening during these years until it now presents a solemn situation. Those who scoff at or attempt to belittle the anti-Christian feelings in Japan, China and India are not acquainted

with the facts or are evading them for strategic purposes.

Upon one tour when this situation was so apparent I wrote a chapter which was to appear in the book *On the Trail of the Peacemakers* in which I gave some incidents illustrating the seriousness of this fact to the Christian cause. It was submitted to some friends who advised against having it published. It was felt that it might do more harm than good. I am inclined now to wish it had been released, for some of the things which were prophesied have come to pass. The Christian organic movement has been pushed back from many important centres. It would be unfair to relate all of these reverses to the great war. Other incidents have contributed but the great war gave the enemies of the organized Christian forces just the argument they needed. I once stood amid a vast crowd in Kyoto when a Buddhist priest in an address made a furious attack upon "this Western religion called Christianity." He portrayed it as a bloody philosophy. The president of a Christian College, who stood with me and interpreted, said as we turned away, "Now you see what we have to contend with." That priest was fair and conservative in his description of war methods and results. I have no reason to doubt his sincerity when he said "That is the Christianity

they would have us accept." He named Germany, England, the United States, as the chiefest among the warriors and the foremost nations in Christian missions.

Dr. Charles C. Morrison said in the *Christian Century* not long ago:

"After all the question in China for the churches is not, can our property be saved? Nor, can our work be saved? Nor, can our lives be saved? It is instead, can our Gospel be saved?"

K. K. Kawakami, in a recent penetrating article says:

"Asia is in a state of spiritual revolt. From Tokyo to Pekin, from Shanghai to Delhi, the whole region is animated, virtually seething with Anti-Christian sentiment.

"What is the cause of this general unrest? Perhaps the World War more than anything else has been responsible for it. The spectacle of Christian nations slaughtering one another in this enlightened century, bewildered and shocked pagan Asia. The World War convinced the masses of Asia that Christianity is a doctrine of might and that its professions of love and brotherhood are but shibboleths."

One of the last utterances of the great Marshal Foch, the hero of war, when that catastrophe was raging, but the champion of peace always, was an appeal for religion as the true foundation for peace. In a letter to the *Columbia,* the official organ of the Knights of Columbus, he wrote:

"Peace. We shall have it only on the same conditions that we got war. We must fight for it in the moral order as we fought for it in the physical order; fight for it on our knees as we fought for it in the air and on the sea and in the trenches.

"Peace was promised by the Most High on the first Christmas night—'Peace on earth to men of good-will.' To whom? Not to the strong or the weak alone, but only to one class, to men of good-will; and, to exercise peace, therefore, there must be undoubtedly in the bottom of our hearts real, true good-will, without which it is only a sham peace."

This great man, who found himself conscripted to lead in a terrible war, but who loved peace, knew the real issue was religion. He knew its implications for the Christian Churches.

The truth is simply this: Western Christianity is standing at the cross-roads. Peculiarly so in its foreign missionary tasks, and the leaders must now

choose one of two things: Either to stop war, to quit it, to outlaw it, to be done with it forever, or else call home the missionaries, quit the futile effort of undertaking to propagate in the Orient a materialistic religion based upon force. If the war system is to continue, then let us rename our religion, call it the religion of force and let somebody else take the sacred name of Christ and develop a religion which will be consistent with the principles he enunciated in the New Testament. Organized Christianity must either stop participating in wars or else take the Sermon on the Mount out of its Bible. There isn't one peg in the New Testament upon which the practice of war can hang. It is a parody to preach the Gospel of Jesus in a pulpit upon one Sunday and bless war from the same pulpit the next week.

The Orient will not be evangelized in a million years by missionaries who present themselves with a Bible in one hand, while behind them stands the shadow of a soldier with a sword dripping with blood to give sanction to his doctrine.

Lest I am misunderstood let me pay tribute to the missionaries of the Christian Gospel. I have visited most of the greater Missions. Those ambassadors of the Church have done their work well. They are noble men and women. The names of Robert Hume, Gilbert Bowles and E. Stanley Jones are sufficient to

illustrate that host of consecrated men and women who have gone out to the neediest places in the world to uplift the destitute and heal the wounds of sin in the name of Christ. There is need for more like them, not less. But we at home have blundered woefully.

Grateful acknowledgment should be made of the fact that year by year the most representative leaders of Western Christianity are manifesting a more determined effort to wipe out the stain caused by the attitudes which older generations took toward the war system. The following paragraphs which appeared in the resolutions adopted by the Second Study Conference of the Churches in the United States held in Columbus, Ohio, March 6-8, 1929, under the auspices of the National Committee of the Churches and World Peace, are an enheartening indication that the Church of the future is not going to have any War Department. The doctrines here declared mean the absolute termination of any co-operation between the Church and war.

These are only three paragraphs out of a very illuminating report which can be had upon application to Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City:

"1. We hold that the Churches of Jesus Christ should be a mighty dynamic in abolishing war. War

denies the Fatherhood of God, scorns the brotherhood of man, mocks the sacredness of human life, is merciless to helpless women and children, uses falsehood, ignores justice, releases the passions, and cultivates hate. War means everything that Jesus did not mean, and means nothing that He did mean.

"2. We, therefore, hold that the Churches should now condemn resort to the war system as sin and should henceforth refuse, as institutions, to sanction it or to be used as agencies in its support.

"3. We further hold the Churches should now regard war, when distinguished from the exercise of police power by authorized international agencies, as a crime."

Not long ago I heard Major-General O'Ryan in an address in which he answered a hypothetical question, "Can a Christian go to War?" He said: "My wife is a Methodist, I am a Catholic. One day after she had viewed a bayonet practice and heard the officers instructing the young recruits in the most vicious methods of ripping the enemy to pieces, she said: 'Husband, you are a Christian. *Do you believe a Christian can go to War?*' I thought a little and answered 'No.'" No religion can survive, in the changing world, which has its garments stained with the blood of war. The world waits the hour

when the organized Christian forces will accept the doctrines of the New Testament.

Religion holds the final verdict for war or peace. It has the numerical strength. It has the moral dynamic to win the victory. But it must be a religion which will not flirt with war. To evolve intellectual devices or build machinery for peace and leave religion out of the picture is just to imagine a vain thing.

XI. WHAT INDIVIDUALS CAN DO

In a medium-sized American city at the close of a great meeting where the challenge of World Peace had been the theme of an address, of the hymns sung and the prayers offered, the chairman, who is by all comparison the most influential citizen of that community, in his closing remarks said, "We have heard a great issue discussed, we are in sympathy with the ideals of world peace, but unfortunately we are a small community far removed from these problems and may, therefore, only participate in an indirect way."

If he had been urged to go further he would have been apt to follow with what thousands are asking, viz., "What can I do about it?" For the moment this remark by such a man seemed a little discouraging. But upon a fair consideration it is not so strange and does not indicate any indifference to the cause. The man referred to has always been in the centre of every good work in his home town, in his state, and for that matter, in the nation. He, like many others of his kind, does not quite visualize a specific personal task in the International Good Will program. It seems to be something far away. It is intangible. It is not easily fitted into his schedule

Copyright, 1929, by the New York Tribune, Inc. Courtesy of the New York *Herald Tribune*

A LITTLE MORE WEIGHT IN THE FRONT OF THE BOAT, PLEASE

—Darling in the New York *Herald Tribune.*

of activities. He is a methodical man with a keen sense of responsibility and responds only to those appeals which demand his affiliation as a part of his life work. He represents exactly the type of personality which this movement needs most and without which its success will be long delayed. Indeed, the peace effort will never fully succeed until its methods have become so sound and practical that they command the approval of men of this man's type and are made inclusive enough to fit into communities like the one in which he resides. Much is yet to be desired in the general curriculum before the cause can avail itself of the tremendous value of the chairman of that meeting and multitudes like him. Not unlike other great moral reforms, the good will movement has suffered much at the hands of some of its proponents. The issue is one with which many impossible folks are glad to assume prominence and whose adherence is a doubtful asset.

World Peace programs must enlist men and women of the superb talents of the chairman of that meeting, in the cities, towns and villages everywhere. They must be made conscious that the work to be done is imperative to the success of the other worthy efforts in which they are engaged, and that the contribution they can make is indispensable.

Winning peace is a more difficult task than winning a war. It requires a devotion not less than war

times demand, and a moral courage vastly superior to participation in war.

The following from Dr. James T. Shotwell's *War as an Instrument of National Policy* [1] is a picture of the dimensions of the undertaking.

"If the history of past ages were a sure guide for the present and the future, there would be no doubt as to the answer to a proposal to rid the world of war. It could not be done. All through the centuries men of good faith have cherished the ideals of peace only to see them yield in the time of crises to the policies of iron—and blood. This is the recurring theme of the human tragedy; dreams of a world at peace in the midst of a world at war; Christianity unable to establish even its human ideals of good will among men; and Oriental philosophy and religion equally futile in this regard. The real and the ideal have seemed for ever irreconcilable. Now, has anything happened in the history of our own days which is not in the history of the past that changes this world-old antithesis?"

This is a job big enough for the biggest men who ever lived. It is not for the soft and easy-going. Human nature has not changed. Capacity to disagree has not changed. The provocations for war

[1] Published by Harcourt Brace & Co.

have not changed. The implements for prosecuting war have not changed except in their ability to destroy by tens of thousands, instead of thousands by the older methods.

If anything different has happened which may interrupt this unbroken story of history of wars it is to be found in the heart of humanity. It will reveal itself through human beings as they invest their talents in service to change the currents of human events. Every religion worships a God of Peace. God is on the side of good will among men. As a matter of fact, God has always been on the right side of every moral cause.

But also as a matter of fact, every great moral issue advances in the exact ratio that men and women invest their personalities in sacrificial service. There is a mystery about this which is sometimes very confusing. The impatient oft-times inquire, "If there is a God of love, wisdom and power, why does He not act directly?" The categorical answer may be difficult. The practical fact is that He does act only through the service of just common folks. Every power there is in the world now always has been here. The most beneficent of them have remained in seclusion until some man has looked a little deeper into things and thought a little more of the mind of God and then he discovered something which had not been seen before. There have been

no real inventors in life; there have been many noble discoverers. Benjamin Franklin did not invent electricity, he discovered it. Alexander Graham Bell did not invent the telephone, he just discovered the power of it. The Wrights did not invent the aeroplane, they just discovered the possibilities of flying a machine which was heavier than air.

Marconi did not invent the wireless, he discovered the method of utilizing the forces which had existed in all the ages.

The story of the progress in the world is the record of new, higher, more intense human capacities being invested.

The germ of world peace, good will, brotherhood has always been in human experience. As long as the story of the races has been written this hope has been manifesting itself. It is to become a reality when the volume of human service has become great enough and wise enough to overbalance the tendency to let the baser passions control. It requires superb genius and great consecration and a stupendous volume of human service to win humanity away from the beastly law of the jungle to the higher ways of brotherhood. The yearning for peace is not new, the lust for war has not passed away.

Two things are better than ever before, and give confidence for the ultimate victory. The experts

have charted the field and recommended better peace implements than in any generation since the world began. The numerical strength in the assembly of peace workers is greater than in any other generation. The experts will go on charting. Their work is not finished. The voluntary service element must be enlarged. The sympathetic reserves of the peace effort must be called up and made vital participants in the campaign. Every man and woman in any place on earth who claims to be in favour of universal peace ought to be asked to submit that specific task which he or she can best perform. The volume of well-directed service will eventually tell the story of success. The incidents which follow are not expected to cover minute details for persons, organizations or communities but are offered as suggestions which may be helpful and include some of the general principles through which all interested friends may find opportunities for real service. This is just a partial answer to the question, "What can I do about it?"

Every genuine peace advocate ought to be a member of some state, national or international society working in this field.

As indicated in the chapter upon "The Great Revolution," there are in the field many organizations which are rendering splendid service. It would be embarrassing to attempt to enumerate

them. Their number is large and one might unintentionally omit some of the most valuable among them. But certainly all professed friends of the cause ought to be directly affiliated with one or more of these societies. If the war illustration can be used again it may help to emphasize this statement. In the United States in 1917 there was a sort of unwritten law that every man and woman had to be "one hundred per cent" in the service. The government assumed the right to conscript the necessary number for the various departments of active military service. But the stay-at-homes had to join something. It wasn't enough to be sympathetic. The concrete details were demanded. In some states voluntary courts were established in each county to hold investigations upon the attitudes of individual citizens. Iowa had this system so perfectly developed that no man could escape rendering the service the court believed him capable of. Each citizen was expected to buy bonds commensurate with his assessed property. Each was expected to subscribe to the Red Cross and other welfare budgets. No one was permitted to say "This war is three thousand miles away. I live in a small place; we are not involved; God bless you who are in the trenches; we are with you in spirit, but cannot co-operate except indirectly." Such an utterance would have brought down the wrath of the community upon the one who

uttered it. Each man or woman, according to his or her abilities, was expected to be in active service.

The conquest of 1917 and 1918 was simple as contrasted to the terrific strain of winning the permanent peace. All who say they believe in peace ought to be enrolled in the membership of some branch of the organized campaign.

If I were asked to suggest that part of the United States where the peace sentiment was most advanced I would unhesitatingly say "in Ohio." This does not imply that the people there are any different from those in Minnesota or Mississippi or Maine. But upon frequent visits there in the recent years one has felt this unusual fervour for the cause of international justice and good will. There is a reason which is not difficult to discover.

They have a "Council of Churches" in that state which binds together most of the Christian forces for those tasks which are common to all. Officially, it is Protestant in its basis. But practically it cooperates with all, Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles. I have attended several of their greater annual meetings. The program is always broad and comprehensive. But World Peace is the dominant emphasis. This Council promotes each year an oratorical competition upon peace in the schools and colleges. They send out deputations of good-will speakers to the various more important

centres. In other words, they simply campaign the entire commonwealth with this doctrine. This movement is not an accident. It is not automatic. It did not just happen because of some peculiar atmosphere in that part of the world. It was conceived and brought into power in the heart of its executive officer, Rev. B. F. Lamb. He accepted service responsibility. He did not say, "Ohio is in the Middle West. It is in no danger of military invasion. It is remote from war peril."

To meet him in conference upon this subject one would believe that he feels that the preservation of world peace is to be finally determined in the State of Ohio of the United States of America of the Western Hemisphere. There is no aloofness in his sense of responsibility to serve this cause. This Council issues valuable printed matter upon this feature of its work, which may be secured through the headquarters at the Outlook Building in Columbus, Ohio. What has been and is being done in this state may be done anywhere when sentimental interest is crystallized into tangible service.

Every genuine peace advocate ought to be engaged in disseminating the ideals in his home community. This service, if it is real, ought to reflect itself in the most intimate contacts.

Significant contributions can be made by membership upon the Committee for International Friend-

ship of the home church, the synagogue, the women's club, the Rotary, the Kiwanis, the Advertisers, the Chamber of Commerce, etc. Relationships to a national or international organization are essential to the wider view of the world events and a sense of personal contact with the greatest crusade in history. But the most valuable service for the vast majority of people is that offered in the local societies and communities. The World Alliance for International Friendship at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has some exceedingly important literature upon this feature, which has been developed by Harry N. Holmes out of actual experience in many places. Two of these pamphlets are of unusual significance.

1. "Corresponding Members."
2. "How to work for International Good Will in your Community."

Inasmuch as these are for free distribution there can be no suspicion about this reference. The Foreign Policy Association with headquarters at 18 East 41st Street, New York City, is also issuing pamphlets which are of great helpfulness in community activities. For local churches, representing the largest number of units which ought to function in this sphere, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America with headquarters at 105 East 22nd Street, New York City, has the best outline for study classes which has been produced and is avail-

able upon application to Dr. Sidney L. Gulick. Similar pamphlets with more direct application to Catholic churches can be secured through Dr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of Washington, D. C., president of the Catholic Peace Society of America, or through Dr. Carleton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, New York.

Every genuine peace advocate ought to be investing some money for the extension of the movement.

I have been familiar with the budgets of philanthropic and religious societies for forty years. For the most part I am sure they have been conscientiously and efficiently administered. I have known of only a few instances where the donors have been deceived or betrayed. I have but scant respect for those who would impugn the motives or abilities of the responsible leaders of the organizations which have appealed for generosity in financial aid in these four decades. I am reasonably well informed of the methods of the more important Good-Will organizations in many parts of the world. The volume of work being done by them in comparison to their financial resources is beyond anything I have ever known. It is said that it cost three hundred fifty billion dollars to conduct four years of war. That wealth was wiped out. It was annihilated literally. The actual annual income of all the peace societies of the world is not known. But one may venture

that it is not one hundredth of one thousandth per cent of this staggering war waste. The war to end war crusade cannot be won upon a pittance. The friends of peace will have to be educated to a new standard of gifts in money if success is to be made secure. I read with satisfaction of great sums being given to endow colleges and institutions. But this satisfaction would be increased were I to hear of greater sums being subscribed to multiply the peace forces of the world.

For myself, if I had wealth, I would not invest much of it in brick and mortar to build the cold walls of institutions, but rather in striking personalities who could touch young life and interpret the new world of human needs.

The Peace Cause waits to secure the results millions pray for, upon a bigger thought of benevolence among its followers.

The illustrations which have been given are only an unsatisfactory method of intimating some of the forms of service which those who sincerely believe in this cause may engage in. But after all personal initiative tells the story. It does not lie within the range of any one person to draw a perfect diagram for the life activities of another.

The glory of enduring peace will not find its highest expression in the Parliament or in the Court or in the Tribunal for Arbitration or in the Peace Pact.

It will, on one day, be summed up in the magnitude of service rendered for the educational and inspirational development of an international life which will literally know of war only as a sad story in an older history.

In summing up this service ideal, I do not think I can do better than to give a brief outline of what one average layman with average talents in an average-sized town has done for this cause of international understanding and world peace.

Frank A. Miller of Riverside, California, the proprietor of the famous Mission Inn, is just this sort of man. He came into life with no unusual endowments except the heritage of godly traditions through Quaker ancestors. He was poor and had to struggle for a living. He enjoyed only limited educational privileges. By training and personal observation he came into a profound zeal for World Peace. In 1911 he organized the "Riverside Peace Conference." He made the inn the free headquarters for the meetings. Dr. David Starr Jordan, John Burroughs, Albert K. Smiley, James A. McDonald, of Toronto, and Bishop William Lawrence were the central figures in the early sessions of this isolated peace society. During the intervening years he has had enough free "guests" who were to speak upon this theme to bankrupt some hotels. The Society has grown; it has spread its influence until it

has permeated the San Bernardino Valley, Southern California, the Pacific Coast and reached the Orient. A prominent Riverside pastor of a large church said to me, "No preacher could stay in this town if he did not major on World Peace." So far as I am informed Mr. Miller has not at any time been the President of this Society. He is an out-of-sight worker. He has not been overwhelmingly popular with everybody all the time. He has been called a "Bolshevist," a "radical," a "Red," and of course has been accused of being "unpatriotic." If a paragraph by way of parenthesis is permissible, permit the author to say that any man who can go through life without being called some of these names is not worth being noted in the record of human progress. He has just been morally soft, flabby and incompetent. He has been a dodger in great moral endeavours.

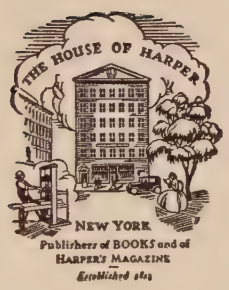
Every man who attacks the war monster as Mr. Miller has done, will be maligned in certain realms of society. But in his quiet way he has kept up the crusade, he has enlisted the co-operation of his fellow townsmen and kindred spirits far and near. He has made his home town famous for its internationalism and love for enduring peace.

What this average layman has done and is doing ought to be duplicated in some form by thousands in various parts of the world.

This greatest moral revolution in all history is not to be made victorious at the hands of insipid people. It is not to be won by a few feeble sentimentalists. Its glory and abounding success are to be fraught with long service by millions of people of different races and tongues.

Service—Service—Service must be the practical answer by all those who speak of World Peace with their lips. Let Selma Lagerlof pronounce the benediction:

"As long as my tongue can utter a word,
As long as blood flows in my veins,
I shall work for the sake of peace,
Though it cost me my life and happiness."


THE HOUSE OF HARPER
NEW YORK
Publishers of BOOKS and of
HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Established 1817

Date Due

NOV 29 '45			
MAY 1 0 1955			
~~5 22 '63~~			
MAR 1 6 '66			
APR 1 3 '66			
JAN 3 '68			
DEC 1 4 1970			
~~MAY 6 '75~~			

LIBRARY BUREAU FORM 1137

JX
1953
Sm56

14892

Smith, F.B.

Must we have war?

14892

WITHDRAWN
UST
Libraries